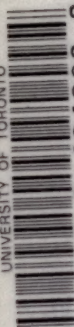


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BURNET
BISHOP BURNET'S HISTORY OF THE
REIGN OF KING JAMES THE SECOND.

NOTES BY THE EARL OF DARTMOUTH,
SPEAKER ONSLOW, AND DEAN
SWIFT.

ADDITIONAL OBSERVATIONS NOW
ENLARGED.

OXFORD:
AT THE UNIVERSITY PRESS.

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PREFACE.

AMONG the motives which have occasioned a republication of a History of James the Second's reign, has been a wish to communicate to the public some interesting Documents, illustrative of the events of this period. With the exception of two printed in the Appendix, they are interspersed among the additional Observations; in which the whole truth, when known to us, is always brought forward; and so stated, we should hope, as to enable the reader to form a right judgment of men and measures. The Text of Burnet, to which these, and the Contemporary Notes formerly published by us, are subjoined, has been in some instances restored by means of the Autograph now in the possession of the university. In

conclusion, we may be permitted to remark, that as the restoration of the legal monarchy after the death of Cromwell was preceded, first by military, and then by republican rule ; so its fall, although connected with other causes, was accelerated by the violent and arbitrary measures of this reign ; and finally effected by legislative bodies carrying on the executive government themselves, or by their avowed nominees. Still under all our changes the public press by its disclosure and powerful advocacy of the truth, has been found protecting right against wrong, and maintaining real liberty.

*A more prejudicial book,
I have never seen.*

THE HISTORY

617

OF

THE REIGN

OF

KING JAMES THE SECOND.

I AM now to prosecute this work, and to give 1685.
the relation of an inglorious and unprosperous reign, that was begun with great advantages: but these were so poorly managed, and so ill improved, that bad designs were ill laid, and worse conducted; and all came, in conclusion, under one of the strangest catastrophes that is in any history. A great king, with strong armies and mighty fleets, a vast treasure and powerful allies, fell^a all at once: and his whole strength, like a spider's web, was so irrecoverably broken with a touch, that he was never able to retrieve, what for want both of judgment and heart he threw up in a day. Such an unexpected revolution deserves to be well opened: I will do it as fully as I can. But, having been beyond sea almost all this reign, many small particulars, that may well deserve to be remem-

A reign happily begun, but inglorious all over.

^a He fell by the knavery of false and treacherous servants.
Cole's MS. Note.

1685. bered, may have escaped me: yet as I had good opportunities to be well informed, I will pass over nothing that seems of any importance to the opening such great and unusual transactions. I will endeavour to watch over my pen with more than ordinary caution, that I may let no sharpness, from any ill usage I my self met with, any way possess my thoughts, or bias my mind: on the contrary, the sad fate of this unfortunate prince will make me the more tender in not aggravating the errors of his reign. As to my own particular, I will remember how much I was once in his favour, and how highly I was obliged to him. And as I must let his designs and miscarriages be seen, so I will open things as fully as I can, that it may appear on whom we ought to lay the chief load of them: which indeed ought to be chiefly charged on his religion^b, and on those who had the management

^b And as much on the arbitrariness of his own nature, with some disposition to cruelty. It has been said, that this temper of his inclined him to popery, as strongly as his convictions, and that the protestant religion was, in this country at least, according to his opinion, the source of faction and rebellion, and what ruined his father. He loved and aimed at absolute power, and believed that nothing could introduce and support it but the catholic religion, as the Romanists call theirs; and this increased his zeal for it, and that zeal increased his disposition to arbitrary power: so that in truth, his religion and

his politics were partly the cause of each other, and indeed they cannot easily be separated. The protestant faith is founded upon inquiry and knowledge, the popish upon submission and ignorance. And nothing leads more to slavery in the state, than blind obedience in matters of religion; as nothing tends more to civil liberty, than that spirit of free inquiry, which is the life of protestantism. So that king James's system was consistent enough in itself; but he either was mistaken in the application of it to this country, or wanted skill to conduct it. This last did, undoubtedly, precipitate his ruin; but how far

of his conscience, his priests, and his Italian queen ; 1685.
 which last had hitherto acted a popular part with
 great artifice and skill, but came now to take off
 the mask, and to discover her self.

This prince was much neglected in his childhood, during the time he was under his father's care. The parliament, getting him into their hands, put him under the earl of Northumberland's government, who, as the duke himself told me, treated him with great respect, and a very tender regard. When he escaped out of their hands, by the means of colonel Bamfield, his father writ to him a letter in cipher, concluding in these plain words, *Do this as you expect the blessing of your loving father.* This was sent to William duke of Hamilton, but came after he had made his

The king's
first educa-
tion.

the other was true or not, that he was mistaken in his general design, is a matter of more difficulty. Happily for these nations, the age produced a prince formed and circumstanced as the prince of Orange was, and that the then state of Europe made his enterprise for us to be critical for them who dreaded the power of France. With this, it was not unhappy too for this country, that the introduction of popery was the chief part of the king's scheme. That engaged the clergy and the body of the church laity against him ; but if he had not made it a quarrel of religion, and had designed only to make his power absolute, (which he was much inclined to,) it was as much to be feared, that, considering the

state of the kingdom at that time, he would have been too well able to have established that part of his work. The high principles in government which the clergy professed, would certainly have carried them so far with him, and they large numbers of church laymen of the same high notions. He would have had besides all his courtiers, and the expectants to be such, and in all probability in this he would have had his army too. By this force he might, for a time at least, have suppressed the civil rights of his people, and subdued the true protestant spirit of liberty, (that has always been the best guard of the other,) and only suffered the name and shadow of it to remain. ONSLOW.

1685. escape: and so I found it among his papers: and
 I gave it to the duke of York in the year 1674.
 He said to me, he believed he had his father's
 cipher among his papers, and that he would try to
 decipher the letter: but I believe he never did
 it. I told him I was confident, that as the letter
 was writ when his escape was under consideration,
 so it contained an order to go to the queen, and
 to be obedient to her in all things, except in mat-
 ters of religion. The king appointed sir John
 Berkeley, afterwards lord Berkeley, to be his go-
 vernor. It was a strange choice, if it was not
 that, in such a want of men who stuck to the
 619 king as was then, there were few capable in any
 sort of such a trust. Berkeley was bold and insol-
 ent, and seemed to lean to popery: he was cer-
 tainly very arbitrary, both in his temper and no-
 tions. The queen took such a particular care of
 this prince, that he was soon observed to have more
 of her favour than either of his two brothers: and
 she was so set on making proselytes, hoping that
to save a soul would cover a multitude of sins,
 that it is not to be doubted but she used more
 than ordinary arts to draw him over to her reli-
 gion. Yet, as he himself told me, he stood out
 against her practices.

He learned
 war under
 Turenne.

During his stay in France he made some cam-
 paigns under Mr. de Turenne, who took him so
 particularly under his care, that he instructed him
 in all that he undertook, and shewed him the
 reasons of every thing he did so minutely, that
 he had great advantages by being formed under
 the greatest general of the age. Turenne was so

much taken with his application, and the heat that he shewed, that he recommended him out of measure. He said often of him, There was the greatest prince, and like to be the best general of his time. This raised his character so much, that the king was not a little eclipsed by him. Yet he quickly ran into amours and vice. And that by degrees wore out any courage that had appeared in his youth. And in the end of his life he came to lose the reputation of a brave man and a good captain so entirely, that either he was never that which flatterers gave out concerning him, or his age and affairs wrought a very unusual change on him. 1685.

He seemed to follow his mother's maxims all the while he was beyond sea. He was the head of a party that was formed in the king's small court against lord Clarendon. And it was believed that his applications to lord Clarendon's daughter were made at first on design to dishonour his family, though she had the address to turn it another way.

After his brother's restoration, he applied himself much to the marine, in which he arrived at great skill, and brought the fleet so entirely into his dependance, that even after he laid down the command he was still the master of our whole sea force. He had now for these last three years directed all our counsels with so absolute an authority, that the king seemed to have left the government wholly in his hands: only the unlooked-for bringing in the duke of Monmouth put him under no small apprehensions, that at some

He was
admiral of
England.

1685. time or other the king might slip out of his hands :
now that fear was over.

620

He was
proclaimed
king.

The king was dead : and so all the court went immediately and paid their duty to him. Orders were presently given for proclaiming him king. It was a heavy solemnity : few tears were shed for the former, nor were there any shouts of joy for the present king. A dead silence, but without any disorder or tumult, followed it through the streets^c. When the privy counsellors came back from the proclamation, and waited on the new king, he made a short speech to them ; which it seems was well considered, and much liked by him, for he repeated it to his parliament, and upon several other occasions.

^c This is so far from the truth, that the death of no prince was ever so universally lamented ; especially by the common people, who had enjoyed more ease and plenty during his reign, than ever they had done before, or expected after. DARTMOUTH. (A zealous revolutionist, sir Patrick Hume, in his *Narrative of the Earl of Argyle's Expedition*, admits the ease of the people of England from war and taxes, and the free course of their traffic and trade during the latter years of king Charles's reign. P. 4. And the sorrow occasioned by the death of Charles is spoken of by Cibber, the poet laureat, avowedly no friend of the house of Stuart, in the beginning of the History of his own life. See also sir John Reseby's Me-

moirs, p. 107. and North's Examen of Kennett's Critical History of England, III. c. 9. p. 647. As to the new king's unpopularity, Welwood, whom no one can suspect of being partial to him, for he is known to have answered one of the king's declarations after his dethronement, says in his *Memoirs*, p. 154. " All the former animosities seemed to be forgotten amidst the loud acclamations of his people on his accession to the throne." Dr. Calamy also, who was a non-conformist, declares that his heart ached within him at the acclamations made on this occasion, expressing at the same time his wonder at bishop Burnet's contrary assertion. Account of his own Life, lately published, vol. I. p. 116.)

He began with an expostulation for the ill 1685.
 character that had been entertained of him. He ^{His first}
 told them, in very positive words, that he would ^{speech}
 never depart from any branch of his prerogative :
 but with that he promised, that he would maintain
 the liberty and property of the subject. He ex-
 pressed his good opinion of the church of Eng-
 land, as a friend to monarchy. Therefore, he said,
 he would defend and maintain the church, and
 would preserve the government in church and
 state, as it was established by law.

This speech was soon printed, and gave great ^{well re-}
 content to those who believed that he would stick ^{ceived.}
 to the promises made in it^d. And those few who
 did not believe it, yet durst not seem to doubt of
 it. The pulpits of England were full of it, and of
 thanksgivings for it. It was magnified as a secu-
 rity far greater than any that laws could give.
 The common phrase was, We have now the *word*
of a king, and a word never yet broken.

Upon this a new set of addresses went round ^{Addresses}
 England, in which the highest commendations ^{made to}
 that flattery could invent were given to the late ^{him.}
 king; and assurances of loyalty and fidelity were
 renewed to the king, in terms that shewed there

^d [It is said in a con-
 temporary letter, that archbishop
 Sancroft made a very eloquent
 speech in the name of the
 whole clergy, thanking the
 king in his closet for the last
 night's declaration. "His ma-
 jesty," it is added, "again re-
 peated what he had before
 declared, and said moreover,

"he would never give any sort
 "of countenance to dissenters;
 "knowing how it must needs
 "be faction and not religion, if
 "men could not be content
 "to meet five besides their
 "own familie, which the law
 "dispenses with." Ellis's *Ori-*
ginal Letters, vol. III. Let.
 382. p. 339.]

1685. were no jealousies nor fears left. The university of Oxford in their address promised to obey the king *without limitations or restrictions*. The king's promise passed for a thing so sacred, that they were looked on as ill bred that put in their address, *our religion established by law*; which looked like a tie on the king to maintain it: whereas the style of the more courtly was to put all our security upon the king's promise. The clergy of London added a word to this in their address, *our religion established by law, dearer to us than our lives*. This had such an insinuation in it, as made it very unacceptable. Some followed their
621 pattern. But this was marked to be remembered against those that used so menacing a form.

All employments were ended of course with the life of the former king. But the king continued all in their places: only the posts in the household were given to those who had served the king, while he was duke of York. The marquis of Halifax had reason to look on himself as in ill terms with the king: so in a private audience he made the best excuses he could for his conduct of late. The king diverted the discourse; and said, he would forget every thing that was past, except his behaviour in the business of the exclusion. The king also added, that he would expect no other service of him than what was consistent with law. He prepared him for the exaltation of the earl of Rochester. He said, he had served him well, and had suffered on his account, and therefore he would now shew favour to him: and the next day he declared him lord

The earl
of Ro-
chester
made lord
treasurer.

treasurer. His brother the earl of Clarendon was made lord privy seal : and the marquis of Halifax was made lord president of the council. The earl of Sunderland was looked on as a man lost at court : and so was lord Godolphin. But the former of these insinuated himself so into the queen's confidence, that he was, beyond all people's expectation, not only maintained in his posts, but grew into great degrees of favour. 1685.

The queen was made to consider the earl of Rochester as a person that would be in the interest of the king's daughters, and united to the church party. So she saw it was necessary to have one in a high post, who should depend wholly on her, and be entirely hers. And the earl of Sunderland was the only person capable of that. The earl of Rochester did upon his advancement become so violent and boisterous, that the whole court joined to support the earl of Sunderland, as the proper balance to the other. Lord Godolphin was put in a great post in the queen's household^e.

^{The earl of Sunderland in favour.}

But before the earl of Rochester had the white staff, the court engaged the lord Godolphin, and the other lords of the treasury, to send orders to the commissioners of the customs to continue to levy the customs, though the act that granted them to the late king was only for his life, and

^{Customs and excise levied against law.}

^e He was made lord chamberlain to the queen, and more esteemed and trusted by her than any man in England. After the revolution, he kept a constant correspondence with her to his dying day : (which

was managed by the countess of Lichfield :) notwithstanding Mr. Cæsar of Hartfordshire was sent to the tower for saying so in the house of commons, in the reign of queen Ann. D.

1685. so was now determined with it. It is known how much this matter was contested in king Charles the first's time, and what had passed upon it. The legal method^f was to have made entries, and to have taken bonds for those duties, to be paid 622 when the parliament should meet, and renew the grant. Yet the king declared, that he would levy the customs, and not stay for the new grant. But, though this did not agree well with the king's promise of maintaining liberty and property, yet it was said in excuse for it, that, if the customs should not be levied in this interval, great importations would be made, and the markets would be so stocked, that this would very much spoil the king's customs^g. But in answer to this it was said again, entries were to be made, and bonds taken, to be sued when the act granting them should pass. Endeavours were used with some of the merchants to refuse to pay those duties, and

^f *The least illegal and the only justifiable*, he should have said. O. (It was the proposal of lord keeper North, whilst the other which was adopted was suggested by Jeffries. See North's Life of the Lord Keeper, p. 255. Dr. Lingard rightly observes, that, although some thought the duties should be paid into the exchequer, and remain there, to be disposed of by parliament, others that no money, but bonds for subsequent payments should be taken, yet that both expedients were contrary to law; and that as the duties were not in exist-

ence, neither the money nor bonds for money could be legally required. Hist. of England, vol. X. c. 2. p. 119. note.)

^g (Macpherson follows North in his account of the measure, and adds to the plea just named, "that the merchants, who had their warehouses full of goods, for which custom had been paid, would be undersold in all the markets by those who now should pay no duties." Vol. I. Hist. of Great Britain, p. 428.)

to dispute the matter in Westminster hall : but none would venture on so bold a thing. He who should begin any such opposition would probably be ruined by it : so none would run that hazard. The earl of Rochester got this to be done before he came into the treasury : so he pretended, that he only held on in the course that was begun by others. 1685.

The additional excise had been given to the late king only for life. But there was a clause in the act that empowered the treasury to make a farm of it for three years, without adding a limiting clause, in case it should be so long due. And it was thought a great stretch of the clause, to make a fraudulent farm, by which it should continue to be levied three years after it was determined, according to the letter and intendment of the act. A farm was now brought out, as made during the king's life, though it was well known that no such farm had been made ; for it was made after his death, but a false date was put to it. This matter seemed doubtful. It was laid before the judges. And they all, except two, were of opinion that it was good in law^h. So

^h ("The lease was made but the day before the king died. The major part of the judges, but, as some think, not the best lawyers, pronounced it legal, but four dissented." Evelyn's *Memoirs*, vol. I. page 550. Lingard says, "One portion of the duties, the additional excise amounting to 550,000*l.* a year, might, according to the act of parlia-

ment, be farmed for the space of three years, and remain in force till the expiration of that term. James was careful to have the lease renewed and signed by his brother the day before his death. Gazette, 2009. Fox's App. 39. This portion therefore he could levy by law." *History of England*, vol. X. c. 2. page 118. note.)

1685. two proclamations were ordered, the one for levying the customs, and the other for the excise.

These came out in the first week of the reign, and gave a melancholy prospect. Such beginnings did not promise well, and raised just fears in the minds of those who considered the consequences of such proceedings. They saw, that by violence and fraud duties were now to be levied without law. But all people were under the power of fear or flattery to such a degree, that none durst complain, and few would venture to talk of those matters.

The king's coldness to those who had been for the exclusion.

623

Persons of all ranks went in such crowds to pay their duty to the king, that it was not easy to admit them all. Most of the whigs that were admitted were received coldly at best. Some were sharply reproached for their past behaviour. Others were denied access. The king began likewise to say, that he would not be served as his brother had been: he would have all about him serve him without reserve, and go thorough in his business. Many were amazed to see such steps made at first. The second Sunday after he came to the throne, he, to the surprise of the whole court, went openly to mass, and sent Caryl to Rome with letters to the pope, but without a character.

He seemed to be on equal terms with the French king.

In one thing only the king seemed to comply with the genius of the nation, though it proved in the end to be only a show. He seemed resolved not to be governed by French counsels, but to act on an equality with that haughty monarch in all things. And, as he entertained all

the other foreign ministers with assurances that he would maintain the balance of Europe with a more steady hand than had been done formerly; so, when he sent over the lord Churchill to the court of France with the notice of his brother's death, he ordered him to observe exactly the ceremony and state with which he was received, that he might treat him, who should be sent over with the compliment in return to that, in the same manner. And this he observed very punctually, when the marshal de Lorge came over. This was set about by the courtiers as a sign of another spirit, that might be looked for in a reign so begun. And this made some impression on the court of France, and put them to a stand. But, not long after this, the French king said to the duke of Villeroy, (who told it to young Rouvigny, now earl of Galway, from whom I had it,) that the king of England, after all the high things given out in his name, was willing to take his money, as well as his brother had doneⁱ.

The king did also give out, that he would live in a particular confidence with the prince of Orange, and the States of Holland. And, because Chudleigh, the envoy there, had openly broken with the prince, (for he not only waited no more on him, but acted openly against him; and once in the Vorhaut had affronted him, while he was driving the princess upon the snow in a

ⁱ (From the now ascertained fact of James's receiving money from France, the truth of the anecdote here related cannot, as Mr. Fox observes, be doubted. See Fox's Hist. of the Reign of James II. p. 106.)

Yes, the arrears of Charles's subsidies!

1685. trainau, according to the German manner; and pretending they were masked, and that he did not know them, had ordered his coachman to keep his way, as they were coming towards the place where he drove^k;) the king recalled him, and sent Shelton in his room, who was the haughtiest, but withal the weakest man, that he could
 624 have found out. He talked out all secrets, and made himself the scorn of all Holland. The courtiers now said every where, that we had a martial prince who loved glory, who would bring France into as humble a dependance on us, as we had been formerly on that court.

The king's
 course of
 life.

The king did, some days after his coming to the crown, promise the queen and his priests, that he would see Mrs. Sidley no more, by whom he had some children. And he spoke openly against lewdness, and expressed a detestation of

^k A pretty parenthesis.
 SWIFT. (See p. 594 of the folio edition of Burnet's History, where it is related, that Chudleigh personally affronted the prince, but was not recalled; but D'Orleans, in his History of the Revolutions in England, which was written, according to lord Bolingbroke in his Dissertation on Parties, p. 28. on materials furnished him by James II. gives the following account of the difference between the prince of Orange and Chudleigh: "The prince of Orange still did the duke of Monmouth much honour, and ordered his troops to

" salute him at reviews when
 " he happened to be present.
 " The king (Charles) had for-
 " bid it to those he had in the
 " service of the States, by Mr.
 " Chudley, then minister at
 " the Hague, which the prince
 " took so ill, that he was in a
 " passion with Chudley, who
 " had given those orders to
 " the officers, without ac-
 " quainting him, and threat-
 " ened him, lifting up his
 " hand. The minister com-
 " plained to his master, who
 " was so highly offended at
 " it, that he forbad him see-
 " ing the prince." p. 276.

drunkenness. He sat many hours a day about 1685.
 business with the council, the treasury, and the
 admiralty. It was upon this said, that now we
 should have a reign of action and business, and
 not of sloth and luxury, as the last was. Mrs.
 Sidley had lodgings in Whitehall: orders were
 sent to her to leave them. This was done to
 mortify her; for [as she was naturally bold and
 insolent] she pretended that she should now
 govern as absolutely as the duchess of Ports-
 mouth had done: yet the king still continued
 a secret commerce with her. And thus he began
 his reign with some fair appearances. A long
 and great frost had so shut up the Dutch ports,
 that for some weeks they had no letters from
 England: so the news of the king's sickness and
 death, and of the beginnings of the new reign,
 came to them all at once.

The first difficulty the prince of Orange was
 in, was with relation to the duke of Monmouth.
 He knew the king would immediately, after the
 first compliments were over, ask him to dismiss
 him, if not to deliver him up. And as it was no
 way decent for him to break with the king upon
 such a point, so he knew the states would never
 bear it. He thought it better to dismiss him im-
 mediately, as of himself. The duke of Monmouth
 seemed surprised at this. Yet at parting he made
 great protestations both to the prince and princess
 of an inviolable fidelity to their interests. So he
 retired to Brussels, where he knew he could be
 suffered to stay no longer than till a return should
 come from Spain, upon the notice of king Charles's

The prince
 of Orange
 sent away
 the duke
 of Mon-
 mouth.

1685. death, and of the declarations that the king was making of maintaining the balance of Europe¹. The duke was upon that thinking to go to Vienna, or to some court in Germany. But those about him studied to inflame him both against the king and the prince of Orange. They told him, the prince by casting him off had cancelled all former obligations, and set him free from them: he was now to look to himself: and instead of wandering about as a vagabond, he was to set himself to deliver his country, and to raise his party and his
625 friends, who were now like to be used very ill for their adhering to him and to his interest.

Some in
England
began to
move for
him.

They sent one over to England to try men's pulses, and to see if it was yet a proper time to make an attempt. Wildman, Charlton, and some others, went about trying if men were in a disposition to encourage an invasion. They talked of this in so remote a way of speculation, that though one could not but see what lay at bottom, yet they did not run into treasonable discourse. I was in general sounded by them: yet nothing was proposed that ran me into any danger from concealing it. I did not think fears and dangers, nor some illegal acts in the administration, could justify an insurrection, as lawful in itself: and I was confident an insurrection undertaken on such

¹ (On the back of a paper of instructions for the release of persons imprisoned for refusing the oaths of supremacy and allegiance, king James has written, "to advise, whether
"to connive at the duke of
" Monmouth's stay in Flan-
" ders." These instructions were among the Melfort papers, lately sold, and are now in Magdalen college Oxford.)

grounds would be so ill seconded, and so weakly supported, that it would not only come to nothing, but it would precipitate our ruin. Therefore I did all I could to divert all persons with whom I had any credit from engaging in such designs. These were for some time carried on in the dark. The king, after he had put his affairs in a method, resolved to hasten his coronation, and to have it performed with great magnificence: and for some weeks he was so entirely possessed with the preparations for that solemnity, that all business was laid aside, and nothing but ceremony was thought on. 1685.

At the same time a parliament was summoned: and all arts were used to manage elections so, Strange practices in elections of parliament men. that the king should have a parliament to his mind. Complaints came up from all the parts of England of the injustice and violence used in elections, beyond what had ever been practised in former times. And this was so universal over the whole nation, that no corner of it was neglected. In the new charters that had been granted, the election of the members was taken out of the hands of the inhabitants, and restrained to the corporation-men, all those being left out who were not acceptable at court. In some boroughs they could not find a number of men to be depended on: so the neighbouring gentlemen were made the corporation-men: and, in some of these, persons of other counties, not so much as known in the borough, were named. This was practised in the most avowed manner in Cornwall by the earl of Bath; who to secure himself the

1685. groom of the stole's place, which he held all
king Charles's time, put the officers of the guards'
626 names in almost all the charters of that county;
which sending up forty-four members, they were
for most part so chosen, that the king was sure of
their votes on all occasions.

These methods were so successful over England, that when the elections were all returned, the king said, there were not above forty members, but such as he himself wished for. They were neither men of parts nor estates^m: so there was no hope left, either of working on their understandings, or of making them see their interest, in not giving the king all at once. Most of them were furious and violent, and seemed resolved to recommend themselves to the king by putting every thing in his power, and by ruining all those who had been for the exclusion. Some few had designed to give the

^m That was not so, for although very bad practices were used in the elections, yet the returns shew, they were in general men of fashion and fortune in the countries they were chosen for, but most of them indeed very high Tories. ONSLOW. (Bevill Higgons says, that in regard to their estates and circumstances, he must refer the reader to the printed list, supposing him to know the gentlemen of fortune and quality in the respective counties of England; and adds, that they were both good subjects and good patriots; the last shewn by their being afterwards dissolved in anger, p. 301. of his Remarks. Ex-

amine what the bishop himself relates afterwards at p. 667. concerning the conduct of these gentlemen, and the candid character given of them by the continuator of Rapin's History of England. See also Echard's Hist. of England, p. 1056. and his Hist. of the Revolution, p. 630; and Treatise on the *Danger of Mercenary Parliaments*, written by an adversary of king James, p. 3. Evelyn, however, in his Memoirs, vol. I. pp. 558, 561, speaks of very mean and slight persons having been set up as candidates for seats in this parliament, and of their having obtained them.)

king the revenue only from three years to three yearsⁿ. The earl of Rochester told me, that was what he looked for, though the post he was in made it not so proper for him to move in it. But there was no prospect of any strength in opposing any thing that the king should ask of them. 1685.

This gave all thinking men a melancholy prospect. England now seemed lost, unless some happy accident should save it. All people saw the way for packing a parliament now laid open^o. A new set of charters and corporation-men, if those now named should not continue to be still as compliant as they were at present, was a certain remedy, to which recourse might be easily had. The boroughs of England saw their privileges now wrested out of their hands, and that their elections, which had made them so considerable before, were hereafter to be made as the court should direct: so that from henceforth little regard would be had to them; and the usual practices in court-ing, or rather in corrupting them, would be no longer pursued. Thus all people were alarmed: but few durst speak out, or complain openly. Only the duke of Monmouth's agents made great use of this to inflame their party. It was said, here was a parliament to meet, that was not the choice and representative of the nation, and therefore was no parliament. So they upon this possessed all people with dreadful apprehensions; a blow was now

Evil prospect from a bad parliament.

ⁿ Might not these persons have suggested the giving of king William the principal revenues but from year to year? much to the dissatisfaction of the king. See vol. II. pp. 12, 13, 14. O.
^o Just our case at the queen's death. S.

1685. given to the constitution, which could not be remedied but by an insurrection. It was resolved to bring up petitions against some elections, that were so indecently managed, that it seemed scarce possible to excuse them: but these were to be judged by a majority of men, who knew their own
 627 elections to be so faulty, that to secure themselves they would justify the rest: and fair dealing was not to be expected from those, who were so deeply engaged in the like injustice.

All that was offered on the other hand to lay those fears, which so ill an appearance did raise, was, that it was probable the king would go into measures against France. All the offers of submission possible were made him by Spain, the empire, and the States^p.

P This was a crisis that might have made this country as great in Europe, or greater, than it had been in any age, and put the king at the head of all foreign transactions, to have engaged in them more or less, as it suited either his interest or his honour: and had he but have kept his religion to his own practice of it, and governed by parliaments, he would have been the happiest and greatest king at the same time, both at home and abroad, that this nation had almost ever seen. There never happened before such a concurrence of incidents to produce all this: but the family was not made to govern this country. A false policy run through their four reigns, and they either did not know, or

did not know how to make use of, the true genius and greatness of their people. The British nation, in its freedom, may be the first power of Europe; and a king who shews them he means their interest only, be the best obeyed. When they see him their king, they will be his subjects. O. "Within six months after his accession James concluded a treaty with the States-General, which renewed the former treaties between the two powers, and in particular the defensive alliance of 1678. On the receipt of the intelligence Louis reprimanded the ambassador for his want of vigilance or of foresight.—It happened that the very circumstance which alarmed Louis

The king had begun with the prince of Orange upon a hard point. He was not satisfied with his dismissing the duke of Monmouth, but wrote to him to break all those officers who had waited on him while he was in Holland. In this they had only followed the prince's example: so it was hard to punish them for that which he himself had encouraged. They had indeed shewed their affections to him so evidently, that the king wrote to the prince, that he could not trust to him, nor depend on his friendship, as long as such men served under him. This was of a hard digestion. Yet, since the breaking them could be easily made up by employing them afterwards, and by

The prince of Orange submits in every thing to the king.

“ encouraged the Spanish ambassador to propose not only a renewal of the last treaty with Spain, but also of the triple alliance against France. All the agents of friendly powers at the British court came forward to his assistance; the adherents of the prince of Orange, the mortal foe of Louis, added their endeavours; and Rochester with his dependants advised and entreated the king to assent. But Barillon was on the watch: against this formidable host he arrayed Sunderland and the ultra-Catholics; and James, after some hesitation, declared his resolution not to enter into any engagement which in its consequences might probably draw him into hostilities. Louis was not ungrateful on this occasion.

“ He granted to Sunderland an annual pension of sixty thousand livres (four thousand five hundred pounds): then, on the representation of that wily statesman, he consented to pay it half-yearly in advance; and afterwards, on more than on one occasion, he doubled the amount, to mark his sense of the distinguished services rendered to him by the English minister. (Barillon, 26 Nov. 6 Dec. 18 Fév.) Never, perhaps, was the French monarch more egregiously deceived. He persuaded himself that he had made an advantageous purchase, but in three years the whole profit was reaped by his most formidable enemy, the prince of Orange.” *Lingard's History of England*, vol. x. ch. 2. p. 201.

1685. continuing their appointments to them, the prince complied in this likewise. And the king was so well pleased with it, that when bishop Turner complained of some things relating to the prince and princess, and proposed rougher methods, the king told him, it was absolutely necessary that the prince and he should continue in good correspondence. Of this Turner gave an account to the other bishops, and told them very solemnly, that the church would be in no hazard during the present reign; but that they must take care to secure themselves against the prince of Orange, otherwise they would be then in great danger^q.

The submission of the prince and the States to the king made some fancy that this would overcome him. All people concluded, that it would soon appear, whether bigotry or a desire of glory was the prevailing passion; since if he did not strike in with an alliance that was then projected against France, it might be concluded that he was resolved to deliver himself up to his priests, and to sacrifice all to their ends. The season of the year made it to be hoped, that the first session of parliament would be so short, that much could not be done in it, but that when the revenue should be granted, other matters might be put off to a winter session. So that, if the parliament should not deliver up the nation in a heat all at once, but should leave half their work to another
628 session, they might come under some management, and either see the interest of the nation in

^q (Compare what follows at page 691 of the folio edition, and the note there.)

general, or their own in particular; and so manage 1685.
 their favours to the court in such a manner as to
 make themselves necessary, and not to give away
 too much at once, but be sparing in their bounty;
 which they had learned so well in king Charles's
 time, that it was to be hoped they would soon
 fall into it, if they made not too much haste at
 their first setting out. So it was resolved not to
 put them on too hastily in their first session to
 judge of any election, but to keep that matter
 entire for some time, till they should break into
 parties.

The coronation was set for St. George's day. The king
 was crown-
 ed.
 Turner was ordered to preach the sermon: and
 both king and queen resolved to have all done
 in the protestant form, and to assist at all the
 prayers: only the king would not receive the
 sacrament, which is always a part of the cere-
 mony. In this certainly his priests dispensed with
 him, and he had such senses given him of the
 oath, that he either took it as a sin with a resolu-
 tion not to keep it, or he had a reserved meaning
 in his own mind. The crown was not well fitted
 for the king's head: it came down too far, and
 covered the upper part of his face. The canopy
 carried over him did also break. Some other
 smaller things happened that were looked on as
 ill omens: and his son by Mrs. Sidley died that
 day^r. The queen with the peeresses made a more

^r At the coronation of the present king, (George the second,) and the queen, the dean of Westminster, (bishop Bradford,) who was then old and very feeble, in bringing the crown from the communion table, tottered with it in coming down the steps, and had much ado to save it from

1685. graceful figure. The best thing in Turner's sermon was, that he set forth that part of Constantius Chlorus's history very handsomely, in which he tried who would be true in their religion, and reckoned that those would be faithfullest to himself who were truest to their God.

I went out
of England.

I must now say somewhat concerning myself. At this time I went out of England. Upon king Charles's death, I had desired leave to come and pay my duty to the king by the marquis of Halifax. The king would not see me. So, since I was at that time in no sort of employment, not so much as allowed to preach any where, I resolved to go abroad. I saw we were like to fall into great confusion; and were either to be rescued, in a way that I could not approve of, by the duke of Monmouth's means, or to be delivered up by a meeting that had the face and name of a parliament. I thought the best thing for me was to go out of the way. The king approved of this, and consented to my going: but still refused to see me. So I was to go beyond sea, as to a voluntary
629 exile. This gave me great credit with all the malecontents: and I made the best use of it I could. I spoke very earnestly to the lord de la Meer, to Mr. Hambden, and such others as I could meet with, who I feared might be drawn in by the agents of the duke of Monmouth. The

falling; upon which I saw the queen, who discerned it, change countenance and turn pale. I was then in an upper gallery of the church, just over the place where this part of the ceremonial was performed. The author should not have taken notice of these superstitious observations upon accidents that may happen alike to all. O.

king had not yet done that which would justify extreme counsels. A raw rebellion would be soon crushed, and give a colour for keeping up a standing army, or for bringing over a force from France. I perceived, many thought the constitution was so broken into by the elections of the house of commons, that they were disposed to put all to hazard. Yet most people thought the crisis was not so near as it proved to be. 1685.

The deliberations in Holland, among the English and Scotch that fled thither, came to ripen faster than was expected. Lord Argile had been quiet ever since the disappointment in the year eighty-three. He had lived for most part in Frizeland, but came oft to Amsterdam, and met with the rest of his countrymen that lay concealed there: the chief of whom were the lord Melvill, sir Patrick Hume, and sir John Cochran^s. With these lord Argile communicated all the advices that were sent him. He went on still with his first project. He said, he wanted only a sum of money to buy arms, and reckoned, that as soon as he was furnished with these, he might venture on Scotland. He resolved to go to his own country, where he hoped he could bring five thousand men together.

Argile designed to invade Scotland.

^s The first of these (Melvill) was a fearful and mean-spirited man, a zealous presbyterian, but more zealous in preserving his person and estate. Hume was a hot and eager man, full of passion and resentment, and instead of minding the business then in hand, he was always forming schemes about

the modelling of matters, when they should prevail; in which he was so earnest, that he fell into perpetual disputes and quarrels about it: Cochran was more tractable. (This is one of the alleged Suppressed Passages. It appears in the author's autograph, but is deleted in the transcript.)

1685. And he reckoned that the western and southern counties were under such apprehensions, that without laying of matters, or having correspondence among them, they would all at once come about him, when he had gathered a good force together in his own country. There was a rich widow in Amsterdam, who was full of zeal: so she, hearing at what his designs stuck, sent to him, and furnished him with ten thousand pounds. With this money he bought a stock of arms and ammunition, which was very dexterously managed by one that traded to Venice, as intended for the service of that republic. All was performed with great secrecy, and put on board^s. They had sharp debates among them about the course they were to hold. He was for sailing round Scotland to his own country. Hume was for the shorter passage: the other was a long navigation, and subject to great accidents. Argile said, the fastnesses of his own country made that to be the safer place to gather men together. He presumed so far on his
630 own power, and on his management hitherto, that he took much upon him: so that the rest were often on the point of breaking with him.

The duke
of Mon-

The duke of Monmouth came secretly to them,

^s It is said, in lord Grey's papers before mentioned, that the famous Mr. Lock, then in Holland, advanced a thousand pounds on this occasion. See that paper for the whole of this enterprise, by Monmouth and Argyle. O. (Macaulay in his recent *History of England* remarks on this note by Speaker Onslow, "that Locke

" must not be confounded
" with the anabaptist Nicholas
" Look, whose name is spelt
" Locke in Grey's Confession,
" and who is mentioned in
" the Lansdown MS. 1152,
" and in the Buccleuch Narra-
" tive appended to Mr. Rose's
" Dissertation." Vol. I. p.
546.)

and made up all their quarrels. He would willingly have gone with them himself: but Argile did not offer him the command: on the contrary he pressed him to make an impression on England at the same time. This was not possible: for the duke of Monmouth had yet made no preparations. So he was hurried into a fatal undertaking, before things were in any sort ready for it. He had been indeed much pressed to the same thing by Wade, Ferguson, and some others about him, but chiefly by the lord Grey, and the lady Wentworth, who followed him to Brussels desperately in love with him. And both he and she came to fancy, that he being married to his duchess while he was indeed of the age of consent, but not capable of a free one, the marriage was null: so they lived together: and she had heated both herself and him with such enthusiastical conceits, that they fancied what they did was approved of God. With this small council he took his measures. Fletcher^t, a Scotch gentleman of great parts, and many virtues, but a most violent republican, and extravagantly passionate, did not like Argile's scheme: so he resolved to run fortunes with the duke of Monmouth. He told me, that all the English among them were still pressing the duke of Monmouth to venture. They said,

1685.

mouth
forced on
an ill-timed
invasion.

^t He of Salton, so well known afterwards in Scotland and England. O. He was very brave, and a man of great integrity, but had strange chimerical notions of government, which were so unsettled, that he would be very angry next day for any body's being of an opinion that he was of himself the night before, but very constant in his dislikes of bishop Burnet, whom he always spoke of with the utmost contempt. D.

1685. all the west of England would come about him, as soon as he appeared, as they had done five or six years ago. They reckoned there would be no fighting, but that the guards, and others who adhered to the king, would melt to nothing before him. They fancied, the city of London would be in such a disposition to revolt, that if he should land in the west the king would be in great perplexity. He could not have two armies: and his fear of tumults near his person would oblige him to keep such a force about him, that he would not be able to send any against him. So they reckoned he would have time to form an army, and in a little while be in a condition to seek out the king, and fight him on equal terms.

This appeared a mad and desperate undertaking to the duke of Monmouth himself. He knew what a weak body a rabble was, and how unable to deal with troops long trained. He had neither money nor officers, and no encouragement from the men of estates and interest in the country. It seemed too early yet to venture. It was the throwing away all his hopes in one day. Fletcher, how vehemently soever he was set on the design in general, yet saw nothing in this scheme that gave any hopes: so he argued much against it. And he said to me, that the duke of Monmouth
631 was pushed on to it against his own sense and reason: but he could not refuse to hazard his person, when others were so forward^u. Lord

^u (But Lingard observes, in the expedition through im-
that, if any credit be due to portunity and against his judg-
sir Patrick Hume's Narrative, ment, as is sometimes said, on
Monmouth, instead of joining the contrary promoted it with

Grey said, that Henry the seventh landed with 1685.
a smaller number, and succeeded. Fletcher answered, he was sure of several of the nobility, who were little princes in those days^x. Ferguson, in

all his might. History of England, vol. X. c. 1. From this Narrative, although professedly written with great caution, it may be collected, that promises of assistance had been made in a certain quarter to the Scottish invaders. See pp. 13. 33.)

^x Fletcher told me he had good grounds to suspect that the prince of Orange underhand encouraged the expedition, with design to ruin the duke of Monmouth. D. (Sir John Dalrymple, who has published this note by lord Dartmouth in the second volume of his Memoirs, p. 137, observes, that the authority is high, because that Fletcher was in a situation to know, and was incapable of lying. D'Orleans, in his Revolutions of England, p. 276, relates, that certain proofs of the intelligence kept up between Bentinck, the prince's ambassador, and Monmouth, were found by Skelton, who succeeded Chudleigh as minister at the Hague, in the duke of Monmouth's house. And in Macpherson's Extracts from the Life of King James, p. 147, it is stated, that Bentinck, the prince of Orange's ambassador, though he found that Monmouth had said nothing of his master, was never quiet till Monmouth's head was off.

That many people in those times considered the prince, who was in their estimation Monmouth's rival for the crown of England, to be eager for the immediate possession of it, even during the reigns of both his uncles, is certain; but that the opinion was well founded, depends principally on the authority of D'Avaux's Negotiations, year 1679, &c. His advocacy of the bill for the exclusion of James is well known; and what his intention was, when he finally determined on his expedition to this country, cannot reasonably be doubted, and is perhaps actually implied in one of the clauses of his famous Declaration, where he promises to *send* home his foreign troops. Since this note was first printed, it has been found that the above expression did not escape observation at the time. See Ralph's Hist. of England, vol. I. p. 1036. In the Life of Carstares, private secretary to king William, prefixed to his *State Papers* by Dr. M'Cormick, the following curious fact is mentioned: "In a paper of accounts of money disbursed by Carstares for the prince's service, he informs his highness, that such and such sums he had disposed of in concert with my lord Melvil; but others, he at the

1685. his spiteful enthusiastical way, said, it was a good cause, and that God would not leave them unless they left him. And though the duke of Monmouth's course of life gave him no great reason to hope that God would appear signally for him, yet even he came to talk enthusiastically on the subject. But Argile's going, and the promise he had made of coming to England with all possible haste, had so fixed him, that, all further deliberations being laid aside, he pawned a parcel of jewels, and bought up arms; and they were put aboard a ship freighted for Spain.

These designs were carried on with great secrecy.

King James was so intent upon the pomp of his coronation, that for some weeks more important matters were not thought on^y. Both Argile and

“ same time tells him, were
 “ privy to none but himself.
 “ Among other particulars, in
 “ the paper of disbursements,
 “ I find one sum stated to a
 “ captain Wishart, who was
 “ master of the vessel in
 “ which lord Argyle went
 “ home, of whose honesty and
 “ willingness, Mr. Carstaes
 “ says, to serve his highness,
 “ I am fully assured. This is
 “ the only instance I have
 “ ever met with, that Mon-
 “ mouth and Argile were coun-
 “ tenanced in their undertak-
 “ ing by the prince of Orange.”

P. 35. It ought, however, to be recollected, that the duke of Monmouth, in his letter to the king after the battle of Sedgemore, says, that he told the prince and princess of Orange he would never stir against the king; which is confirmed by the prince him-

self in a letter to the earl of Rochester. See the *Clarendon Correspondence*, published by Mr. Singer in 1828, vol. I. p. 127. Sir John Mackintosh likewise, in his *History of the Revolution in England* edited in 1834, relates, citing the authority of the Fox MSS., that before the duke of Monmouth quitted Holland, he wrote a letter of thanks to the magistrates of Amsterdam for their favour to himself and his adherents, and expressed himself in terms of anger and even of revenge against the prince of Orange for having sacrificed his friendship to regain that of James, ch. xi. p. 372.)

^y (Compare Ralph's Hist. of England, I. pp. 856, 859. who states, that in consequence of Skelton's information, a proclamation had been issued in

Monmouth's people were so true to them, that nothing was discovered by any of them. Yet some days after Argile had sailed, the king knew of it: for the night before I left London, the earl of Arran came to me, and told me, the king had an advertisement of it that very day. I saw it was fit for me to make haste: otherwise I should have been seized on, if it had been only to put the affront on me, of being suspected of holding correspondence with traitors. 1685.

Argile had a very prosperous voyage. He sent out a boat at Orkney to get intelligence, and to take prisoners. This had no other effect, but that it gave intelligence where he was: and the wind chopping, he was obliged to sail away, and leave his men to mercy. The winds were very favourable, and turned as his occasions required: so that in a very few days he arrived in Argileshire. The misunderstandings between him and Hume grew very high; for he carried all things with an air of authority, that was not easy to those who were setting up for liberty. At his landing he found, that the early notice the council had of his designs had spoiled his whole scheme; for they had brought in all the gentlemen of his country to Edinburgh, which saved them, though it helped on his ruin. Yet he got above five and twenty hundred men to come to him. If with these he had immediately gone over to the western coun-

Scotland, requiring the king's subjects to repel any invasion from abroad, and this so early as April 28, the earl of Argyle setting sail from Holland on

May 2. But on the bishop's part it may be observed, that the king's coronation had taken place before, on April 23. St. George's day.)

1685. ties of Air and Renfrew, he might have given the government much trouble. But he lingered too long, hoping still to have brought more of his Highlanders together. He reckoned these were sure to him, and would obey him blindfold : whereas, if he had gone out of his own country with a small force, those who might have come in to his assistance might also have disputed his authority : and he could not bear contradiction. Much time was by this means lost : and all the country was summoned to come out against him. At last he crossed an arm of the sea, and landed in the isle of Bute ; where he spent twelve days more, till he had eat up that island, pretending still that he hoped to be joined by more of his Highlanders.

But was defeated and taken.

He had left his arms in a castle, with such a guard as he could spare : but they were routed by a party of the king's forces. And with this he lost both heart and hope. And then, apprehending that all was gone, he put himself in a disguise, and had almost escaped : but he was taken. A body of gentlemen that had followed him stood better to it, and forced their way through : so that the greater part of them escaped. Some of these were taken : the chief of them were Sir John Cochran, Ailoffe, and Rumbold. These two last were Englishmen : but I knew not upon what motive it was, that they chose rather to run fortunes with Argile, than with the duke of Monmouth. Thus was this rebellion brought to a speedy end, with the effusion of very little blood. Nor was there much shed in the way of justice ;

for it was considered, that the Highlanders were 1685.
 under such ties by their tenures, that it was
 somewhat excusable in them to follow their lord.
 Most of the gentlemen were brought in by order
 of council to Edinburgh, which preserved them.
 One of those that were with Argile, by a great
 presence of mind, got to Carlyle, where he called
 for post horses, and said, he was sent by the gene-
 ral to carry the good news by word of mouth to
 the king. And so he got to London: and there
 he found a way to get beyond sea.

Argile was brought in to Edinburgh. He ex-<sup>Argile's ex-
ecution.</sup>pressed even a cheerful calm under all his misfor-
 tunes. He justified all he had done: for he said,
 he was unjustly attainted: that had dissolved his
 allegiance: so it was justice to himself and his
 family, to endeavour to recover what was so
 wrongfully taken from him. He also thought,
 that no allegiance was due to the king, till he
 had taken the oath which the law prescribed to ⁶³³
 be taken by our kings at their coronation, on the
 receipt of their princely dignity. He desired that
 Mr. Charteris might be ordered to attend upon
 him; which was granted^z. When he came to
 him, he told him he was satisfied in conscience
 with the lawfulness of what he had done, and
 therefore desired he would not disturb him with

^z Dr. Bliss has favoured us with this remark, that according to the account of sir Alexander Brand, then sheriff, Annan, the dean of Edinburgh, attended the earl of Argyle from the castle to the council house; who was cheerful, and

desired the dean to begin some good discourse on the occasion, which he did, and the earl seemed pleased with it. Sir Alexander Brand's *Specimen of Bishop Burnet's Behaviour towards him*, p. 31. 2nd edit.

1685. any discourse on that subject. The other, after he had told him his sense of the matter, complied easily with this. So all that remained was to prepare him to die, in which he expressed an unshaken firmness. The duke of Queensbury examined him in private. He said, he had not laid his business with any in Scotland. He had only found credit with a person that lent him money; upon which he had trusted, perhaps too much, to the dispositions of the people, sharpened by their administration. When the day of his execution came, Mr. Charteris happened to come to him as he was ending dinner: he said to him pleasantly, *Serò venientibus ossa*. He prayed often with him, and by himself, and went to the scaffold with great serenity. He had complained of the duke of Monmouth much, for delaying his coming so long after him, and for assuming the name of king; both which, he said, were contrary to their agreement at parting. Thus he died, pitied by all. His death, being pursuant to the sentence passed three years before, was looked on as no better than murder. But his conduct in this matter was made up of so many errors, that it appeared he was not made for designs of this kind^a.

Ailoffe had a mind to prevent the course of justice, and having got a penknife into his hands gave himself several stabs. And thinking he was certainly a dead man, he cried out, and said, now

^a (Evelyn says of this nobleman, who came to visit his curious garden, that he seem-

ed a man of parts. *Memoirs*, vol. I. p. 334.)

he defied his enemies. Yet he had not pierced 1685.
 his guts: so his wounds were not mortal. And,
 it being believed that he could make great dis-
 coveries, he was brought up to London.

Rumbold was he that dwelt in Rye-house, where it was pretended the plot was laid for murdering the late and the present king. He denied the truth of that conspiracy. He owned, he thought the prince was as much tied to the people, as the people were to the prince; and that, when a king departed from the legal measures of government, the people had a right to assert their liberties, and to restrain him. He did not deny, but that he had heard many propositions at West's chambers about killing the two brothers, and upon that he had said, it could have been easily executed near his house; upon which some discourse had fol-634
 lowed, how it might have been managed. But, he said, it was only talk, and that nothing was either laid, or so much as resolved on. He said, he was not for a commonwealth, but for kingly government according to the laws of England: but he did not think that the king had his authority by any divine right, which he expressed in rough but significant words. He said, he did not believe that God had made the greater part of mankind with saddles on their backs, and bridles in their mouths, and some few booted and spurred to ride the rest.

Cochran had a rich father, the earl of Dun-
 donald: and he offered the priests 5,000*l.* to save
 his son. They wanted a stock of money for
 managing their designs: so they interposed so

1685. effectually, that the bargain was made. But, to cover it, Cochran petitioned the council that he might be sent to the king: for he had some secrets of great importance, which were not fit to be communicated to any but to the king himself. He was upon that brought up to London: and, after he had been for some time in private with the king, the matters he had discovered were said to be of such importance, that in consideration of that the king pardoned him. It was said, he had discovered all their negotiations with the elector of Brandenburg and the prince of Orange. But this was a pretence only given out to conceal the bargain; for the prince told me, he had never once seen him^c. The secret of this came to be known soon after.

When Ailoffe was brought up to London, the king examined him, but could draw nothing from him, but one severe repartee. He being sullen, and refusing to discover any thing, the king said to him; Mr. Ailoffe, you know it is in my power to pardon you; therefore say that which may deserve it. It was said that he answered, that though it was in his power, yet it was not in his nature to pardon. He was nephew to the old earl of Clarendon by marriage; for Ailoffe's aunt was his first wife, but she had no children. It was thought, that the nearness of his relation to the king's children might have moved him to pardon him, which would have been the most

^c (Ralph, the historian, remarks, that the prince only told Burnet that he had never seen Cochran, not that there had been no such negotiations. Hist. vol. I. p. 871.)

effectual confutation of his bold repartee: but he 1685.
suffered with the rest^d.

Immediately after Argile's execution, a parlia- A parlia-
ment was held in Scotland. Upon king Charles's ment in
death, the marquis of Queensbury, soon after made Scotland.
a duke, and the earl of Perth, came to court. The
duke of Queensbury told the king, that if he had 635
any thoughts of changing the established religion,
he could not make any one step with him in that
matter. The king seemed to receive this very
kindly from him; and assured him, he had no
such intention, but that he would have a parlia-
ment called, to which he should go his commis-
sioner, and give all possible assurances in the
matter of religion, and get the revenue to be
settled, and such other laws to be passed as might
be necessary for the common safety. The duke
of Queensbury pressed the earl of Perth to speak
in the same strain to the king. But, though he
pretended to be still a protestant, yet he could
not prevail on him to speak in so positive a style.
I had not then left London: so the duke sent me
word of this, and seemed so fully satisfied with it,
that he thought all would be safe. So he pre-
pared instructions by which both the revenue and

^d As the bishop has stated the case, he had no relation to the king's children; but Ailoffe's having stabbed himself at first, and the insolence of what the bishop calls a bold repartee, inclines me to believe, he was resolved not to accept of a pardon; for certainly no man in his senses would have said such a thing to a king he expected to live under. D. (He did not expect to live under him; and this bitter and inveterate enemy of the Stuarts appears, if the story is true, to have uttered what he was persuaded of, either from his own knowledge of the king's disposition, or by what he had heard of it from others.)

1685. the king's authority were to be carried very high.

He has often since that time told me, that the king made those promises to him in so frank and hearty a manner, that he concluded it was impossible for him to be acting a part. Therefore he always believed, that the priests gave him leave to promise every thing, and that he did it very sincerely; but that afterwards they pretended, they had a power to dissolve the obligation of all oaths and promises; since nothing could be more open and free than his way of expressing himself was, though afterwards he had no sort of regard to any of the promises he then made. The test had been the king's own act while he was in Scotland. So he thought, the putting that on all persons would be the most acceptable method, as well as the most effectual, for securing the protestant religion. Therefore he proposed an instruction obliging all people to take the test, not only to qualify them for public employments, but that all those to whom the council should tender it should be bound to take it under the pain of treason: and this was granted. He also projected many other severe laws, that left an arbitrary power in the privy council. And, as he was naturally violent and imperious in his own temper, so he saw the king's inclinations to those methods, and hoped to have recommended himself effectually, by being so instrumental in setting up an absolute and despotic form of government. But he found afterwards how he had deceived himself, in thinking that any thing, but the delivering up his religion, could be acceptable long. And he

saw, after he had prepared a cruel scheme of 1685.
government, other men were trusted with the ⁶³⁶
management of it; and it had almost proved fatal
to himself.

The parliament of Scotland sat not long. No ^{Granted all}
opposition was made. The duke of Queensbury ^{that the}
gave very full assurances in the point of religion, ^{king de-}
that the king would never alter it, but would ^{sired.}
maintain it, as it was established by law. And in
confirmation of them he proposed that act enjoin-
ing the test, which was passed, and was looked on
as a full security; though it was very probable,
that all the use that the council would make of
this discretional power lodged with them, would
be only to tender the test to those that might
scruple it on other accounts, but that it would be
offered to none of the church of Rome. In return
for this, the parliament gave the king for life all
the revenue that had been given to his brother:
and with that some additional taxes were given.

Other severe laws were also passed. By one of ^{Severe laws}
these an inquisition was upon the matter set up. ^{were pass-}
All persons were required, under the pain of trea- ^{ed.}
son, to answer to all such questions as should be
put to them by the privy council. This put all
men under great apprehensions, since upon this
act an inquisition might have been grafted, as
soon as the king pleased. Another act was only
in one particular case: but it was a crying one,
and so deserves to be remembered.

When Carstairs was put to the torture, and
came to capitulate in order to the making a dis-

1685. covery, he got a promise from the council, that no use should be made of his deposition against any person whatsoever. He in his deposition said somewhat that brought sir Hugh Campbell and his son under the guilt of treason, who had been taken up in London two years before, and were kept in prison all this while. The earl of Melfort got the promise of his estate, which was about 1000*l.* a year, as soon as he should be convicted of high treason. So an act was brought in, which was to last only six weeks; and enacted, that if within that time any of the privy council would depose that any man was proved to be guilty of high treason, he should upon such a proof be attainted. Upon which, as soon as the act was passed, four of the privy council stood up, and affirmed that the Campbells were proved by Carstairs' deposition to be guilty. Upon this both father and son were brought to the bar, to see what they had to say, why the sentence should not be executed. The old gentleman, then near
637 eighty, seeing the ruin of his family was determined, and that he was condemned in so unusual a manner, took courage, and said, the oppression they had been under had driven them to despair, and made them think how they might secure their lives and fortunes: upon this he went to London, and had some meetings with Baillie, and others: that one was sent to Scotland to hinder all risings: that an oath of secrecy was indeed offered, but was never taken upon all this. So it was pretended, he had confessed the crime, and by a

shew of mercy they were pardoned: but the earl of Melfort possessed himself of their estate. The old gentleman died soon after. And very probably his death was hastened by his long and rigorous imprisonment, and this unexampled conclusion of it; which was so universally condemned, that when the news of it was writ to foreign parts, it was not easy to make people believe it possible. 1685.

But now the sitting of the parliament of England came on. And, as a preparation to it, Oates Oates convicted of perjury, was convicted of perjury, upon the evidence of the witnesses from St. Omar's, who had been brought over before to discredit his testimony. Now juries were so prepared, as to believe more easily than formerly. So he was condemned to have his priestly habit taken from him, to be a prisoner for life, to be set on the pillory in all the public places of the city, and ever after that to be set on the pillory four times a year, and to be whipt and cruelly whipt. by the common hangman from Aldgate to Newgate one day, and the next from Newgate to Tyburn; which was executed with so much rigour, that his back seemed to be all over flead. This was thought too little if he was guilty, and too much if innocent, and was illegal in all the parts of it: for as the secular court could not order the ecclesiastical habit to be taken from him, so to condemn a man to a perpetual imprisonment was not in the power of the court: and the extreme rigour of such whipping was without a precedent. Yet he, who was an original in all things, bore this with a constancy that amazed all

1685. those who saw it. So that this treatment did rather raise his reputation than sink it^e.

Dangerfield
killed.

And, that I may join things of the same sort together, though they were transacted at some distance of time, Dangerfield, another of the witnesses in the popish plot, was also found guilty of perjury, and had the same punishment^f. But it had a more terrible conclusion: for a brutal student of the law, who had no private quarrel with him, but was only transported with the heat of
638 that time, struck him over the head with his cane, as he got his last lash. This hit him so fatally, that he died of it immediately. The person was apprehended. And the king left him to the law. And, though great intercession was made for him, the king would not interpose. So he was hanged for it^g.

^e ("In the first parliament after the flight of James, Oates brought two writs of error before the house of lords, for the reversal of these judgments. He was disappointed. The house instead of reversing, confirmed both anew, but petitioned the king to remit the remaining part of the punishment. This was granted — Lords' Journals xiv. 219. 228. 236. Oates afterwards obtained from the new monarch a pension of five pounds per week, in lieu of the pension, amounting to eight hundred and forty six pounds per annum, granted to him by Charles II." Lingard's History of

England, vol. X. c. 2. p. 137.)

^f It was for his narrative. See, for a better account of this matter, Echard's History, p. 1055. O.

^g (Higgon's relates the following circumstances of extension in this assault. That Dangerfield was returning from the place of punishment in a coach, which stopping near Gray's Inn, Francis, a student of that house, approached, and used insulting language to him; on which Dangerfield spit in his face; that Francis, having a small bamboo cane in his hand, thrust it at the other in the coach, and the ferrel unfortunately went into his eye. And that Dangerfield lived so long

At last the parliament met. The king in his 1685.
 speech repeated that which he had said to the A parlia-
ment in
England.
 council upon his first accession to the throne. He
 told them some might think, the keeping him low
 would be the surest way to have frequent parlia-
 ments: but they should find the contrary, that the
 using him well would be the best argument to
 persuade him to meet them often. This was
 put in to prevent a motion, which was a little
 talked of abroad, but none would venture on it
 within doors, that it was safest to grant the reve-
 nue only for a term of years^b.

The revenue was granted for life, and every Grants the
revenue for
life.
 thing else that was asked, with such a profusion,
 that the house was more forward to give, than
 the king was to ask: to which the king thought
 fit to put a stop by a message, intimating that he
 desired no more money that sessionⁱ. And yet

afterwards, as to cause a very great debate among the surgeons, who attended the coroner's inquest, whether he died of the wound in his eye, or of the effects of his punishment. Remarks, p. 302. A similar account is given in the Life of King James II. published from the Stuart Papers, vol. II. p. 47. Echard, in his Hist. of the Revolution, says, with some probability, that Francis was executed to satisfy the murmurs of the people. In a recent edition of Burnet's History of his Own Time, p. 409. it is stated, that intercessions for his life would

perhaps have succeeded, if Jeffereys had not declared, that "Francis must die, for "the rabble was thoroughly "heated," p. 409. where Woolrych's Life of Jeffreys p. 282. is cited.)

^b See antea, p. 626. O.

ⁱ (To the charge of Mr. Rose against the bishop, of a misstatement of a fact in asserting, that the king sent a message to this effect, a full reply has been made by sergent Heywood, in the Appendix to his Vindication of Mr. Fox's Historical Work, p. 111—141.)

1685. this forwardness to give in such a reign was set on by Musgrave and others, who pretended afterwards, when money was asked for just and necessary ends, to be frugal patriots, and to be careful managers of the public treasure^k.

And trusts
to the
king's pro-
mise.

As for religion, some began to propose a new and firmer security to it. But all the courtiers run out into eloquent harangues on that subject: and pressed a vote, that they took the king's word in that matter, and would trust to it; and that this should be signified in an address to him. This would bind the king in point of honour, and gain his heart so entirely, that it would be a tie above all laws whatsoever. And the tide run so strong that way, that the house went into it without opposition.

The lord Preston, who had been for some years envoy in France, was brought over, and set up to be a manager in the house of commons. He told them, the reputation of the nation was beginning to rise very high all Europe over, under a prince whose name spread terror every where: and if this was confirmed by the entire confidence of his parliament, even in the tenderest matters, it would give such a turn to the affairs of Europe, that England would again hold the balance, and their king would be the arbiter of Europe. This was seconded by all the court flatterers. So in their
639 address to the king, thanking him for his speech, they told him, they trusted to him so entirely, that they relied on his word, and thought them-

^k A party remark. S.

selves and their religion safe, since he had promised it to them¹. 1685.

When this was settled, the petitions concerning the elections were presented. Upon those Seimour spoke very high, and with much weight^m. He said, the complaints of the irregularities in elections were so great, that many doubted whether this was a true representative of the nation, or not. He said, little equity was expected upon petitions, where so many were too guilty to judge justly and impartially. He said, it concerned them to look to these: for if the nation saw no justice was to be expected from them, other methods would be found, in which they might come to suffer that justice which they would not do. He was a haughty man, and would not communicate

¹ (Ralph, in his History of the reign, p. 909, thinks, that lord Preston, who had come over on this account, did not make use of his interest with the house till afterwards, on the second meeting of the parliament, and that the bishop has misplaced the speech, which was delivered on the debate about the forces after Monmouth's rebellion.)

^m (Mr. Fox in his Historical Work observes, that Seymour's speech was not a regular motion for inquiring into the elections, but a suggestion to that effect made in his speech upon the question of a grant to the crown: p. 147—150. Lingard, in his History of England, relates, that the subject was again brought forward by sir John Lowther,

who observed, "that the compulsory substitution of new for ancient charters amounted to the disseizing of the subject of his freehold, without a trial; it shook the very foundation of parliament by transferring the choice of representatives to other electors, and was pregnant with such important consequences as to demand the most serious attention of the house. He concluded by moving for a committee to consider the proper method of applying to the king for a remedy, and received the support of several among the more influential members. The debate was never afterwards resumed." Vol. VII. chap. 8. p. 314.)

1685. his design in making this motion to any: so all were surprised with it, but none seconded it. This had no effect, not so much as to draw on a debate.

The parliament was violent.

The courtiers were projecting many laws to ruin all who opposed their designs. The most important of these was an act declaring treasons during that reign, by which words were to be made treason. And the clause was so drawn, that any thing said to disparage the king's person or government was made treason; within which every thing said to the dishonour of the king's religion would have been comprehended, as judges and juries were then modelled. This was chiefly opposed by sergeant Maynard, who in a very grave speech laid open the inconvenience of making words treason: they were often ill heard and ill understood, and were apt to be misrecited by a very small variation: men in passion or in drink might say things they never intended: therefore he hoped they would keep to the law of the twenty-fifth of Edward the third, by which an overt act was made the necessary proof of ill intentions. And when others insisted that *out of the abundance of the heart the mouth spake*, he brought the instance of our Saviour's words, *Destroy this temple*; and shewed how near *the temple* was to *this temple*, pronouncing it in Syriac, so that the difference was almost imperceptibleⁿ. There was nothing more innocent than these words, as our Saviour meant and spoke them: but nothing was more criminal than the setting

ⁿ (John ii. 19.)

on a multitude to destroy the temple. This made some impression at that time°. But if the duke of Monmouth's landing had not brought the session to an early conclusion, that, and every thing else which the officious courtiers were projecting, would have certainly passed^p. 1685. 640

The most important business that was before the house of lords was the reversing the attainder of the lord Stafford. It was said for it, that the witnesses were now convicted of perjury, and therefore the restoring the blood that was tainted by their evidence was a just reparation. The proceedings in the matter of the popish plot were chiefly founded on Oates's discovery, which was now judged to be a thread of perjury. This stuck with the lords, and would not go down^q. Yet

The lords were more cautious.

° (The title of the intended act, was, "A bill for the preservation of the person and government of his gracious majesty king James the second." See Rose's Observations on Fox, p. 157, and Heywood's Vindication, p. 218—234; where, p. 231, lord Lonsdale's Memoir of the reign of James II. is cited, in which sergeant Maynard's argument is expressly noticed; and the accuracy of bishop Burnet is thus maintained against Mr. Rose's doubts.)

^p (Lord Lonsdale, in his privately printed Memoir just mentioned, reports, p. 9, that there were two provisos agreed on in a committee; the one was, that no preaching or teaching against the errors of Rome in defence of the pro-

testant religion should be construed to be within that act. The second was, that all informations within that statute should be made within forty-eight hours. With these two provisos, it is added, the force of it was so mutilated, that it was not thought worth having, and so it died.)

^q ("The bill passed easily through that house, and was read twice in the commons; but it being sent down but in June, and the rebellions in England and Scotland happening at the same time, and the parliament being prorogued on these accounts the second of July, the bill never came to a third reading." *Salmon's Examination of this Hist.* p. 1001. The bill certainly passed the lords;

1685. they did justice both to the popish lords then in the tower, and to the earl of Danby, who moved the house of lords, that they might either be brought to their trial, or be set at liberty^r. This was sent by the lords to the house of commons, who returned answer, that they did not think fit to insist on the impeachments. So upon that they were discharged of them, and set at liberty. Yet, though both houses agreed in this of prosecuting the popish plot no further, the lords had no mind to reverse and condemn past proceedings.

The duke
of Mon-
mouth
landed at
Lime.

But while all these things were in agitation, the duke of Monmouth's landing brought the session to a conclusion. As soon as lord Argile sailed for Scotland, he set about his design with as much haste as was possible. Arms were brought, and a ship was freighted for Bilbao in Spain. The duke of Monmouth pawned all his jewels: but these could not raise much: and no money was sent him out of England. So he was hurried into an ill designed invasion. The whole company consisted but of eighty-two persons. They were all faithful to one another. But some spies, whom Shelton the new envoy set on work, sent him the notice of a suspected ship sailing out of Amsterdam with arms. Shelton neither understood the

but compare Dalrymple's Memoirs, vol. I. p. 79, Fox's Hist. of the Reign of James II. p. 161, and Hume's History of England, James II. p. 382; the last of whom says, that after one reading it was dropped by the commons. Kennett in his Complete Hist. of

England agrees with Salmon in the bill's having been read twice.)

^r But see the Journals of both houses with regard to both these matters, and see antea p. 591, (of Burnet's Hist. folio edit.) O.

laws of Holland, nor advised with those who did : 1685.
 otherwise he would have carried with him an
 order from the admiralty of Holland, that sat at
 the Hague, to be made use of as the occasion
 should require. When he came to Amsterdam,
 and applied himself to the magistrates there, de-
 siring them to stop and search the ship that he
 named, they found the ship was already sailed out
 of their port, and their jurisdiction went no further.
 So he was forced to send to the admiralty at the
 Hague. But those on board, hearing what he
 was come for, made all possible haste. And, the
 wind favouring them, they got out of the Texel, 641
 before the order desired could be brought from
 the Hague.

After a prosperous course, the duke landed at
 Lime in Dorsetshire : and he with his small com-
 pany came ashore with some order, but with too
 much daylight, which discovered how few they
 were.

The alarm was brought hot to London : where, An act of
attainder
passed a-
gainst him.
 upon the general report and belief of the thing,
 an act of attainder passed both houses in one day ;
 some small opposition being made by the earl of
 Anglesey, because the evidence did not seem
 clear enough for so severe a sentence, which was
 grounded on the notoriety of the thing^s. The

^s (Mr. Rose, in the Ap-
 pendix to his Observations on
 Fox's Historical Work, p. liv,
 denies, in opposition to bishop
 Burnet, that the act passed on
 a general report, or that it
 was grounded on the notoriety
 of the thing, because the king

on the 12th of June communi-
 cated to the two houses a let-
 ter from Alford, the mayor of
 Lyme, giving a particular ac-
 count of the duke's landing
 there, and taking possession
 of the town. To this attack
 on the bishop, sergeant Hey-

1685. sum of 5000*l.* was set on his head. And with that the session of parliament ended; which was no small happiness to the nation, such a body of men being dismissed with doing so little hurt. The duke of Monmouth's manifesto was long, and ill penned: full of much black and dull malice. It was plainly Ferguson's style, which was both tedious and fulsome. It charged the king with the burning of London, the popish plot, Godfrey's murder, and the earl of Essex's death: and to crown all, it was pretended, that the late king was poisoned by his orders: it was set forth, that the king's religion made him incapable of the crown; that three subsequent houses of commons had voted his exclusion: the taking away the old charters, and all the hard things done in the last reign, were laid to his charge: the elections of the present parliament were also set forth very odiously, with great indecency of style: the nation was also appealed to, when met in a free parlia-

wood, amongst other considerations of importance, replies, that the letter of the mayor, which as a foundation for the act of attainder was in fact never read, "might be sufficient to authorize an address, " but not a bill of attainder, a " sort of prerogative trial, in " which the legislature by an " extraordinary interference " removes the consideration " of an offence from the com- " mon tribunals, and takes it " upon itself." *Vindication of Mr. Fox's Historical Work, Appendix*, no. 5. p. 111. Still

it appears, that when sir Richard Temple was reflected on, in the reign of king William, for having moved for the impeachment of the duke of Monmouth, he said, that he had done it on the testimony of three witnesses, who declared they saw him in actual rebellion at the head of an army. See Ralph's History of England, vol. II. p. 697, and the Journals of the House of Commons, where it is shown, that the messengers bore witness to the truth at the bar of the house.)

ment, to judge of the duke's own pretensions^t: 1685.
and all sort of liberty, both in temporals and
spirituals, was promised to persons of all per-
suasions.

Upon the duke of Monmouth's landing, many ^{A rabble} of the country people came in to join him, but ^{came and} ^{joined him.} very few of the gentry. He had quickly men enough about him to use all his arms. The duke of Albemarle, as lord lieutenant of Devonshire, was sent down to raise the militia, and with them to make head against him. But their ill affection appeared very evidently: many deserted, and all were cold in the service. The duke of Monmouth had the whole country open to him for almost a fortnight, during which time he was very diligent in training and animating his men. His own behaviour was so gentle and obliging, that he was master of all their hearts, as much as was possible. But he quickly found, what it was to be at the head of undisciplined men, that knew nothing of 642 war, and that were not to be used with rigour. Soon after their landing, lord Grey was sent out with a small party. He saw a few of the militia, ^{Lord Grey's} and he ran for it: but his men stood, and the ^{cowardice.} militia ran from them. Lord Grey brought a false alarm, that was soon found to be so: for the men whom their leader had abandoned came back in good order. The duke of Monmouth was struck with this, when he found that the person on whom he depended most, and for whom he designed the command of the horse, had already

^t He asserted that his mother was the lawful wife of his father. O.

1685. made himself infamous by his cowardice. He intended to join Fletcher with him in that command. But an unhappy accident made it not convenient to keep him longer about him. He sent him out on another party: and he, not being yet furnished with a horse, took the horse of one who had brought in a great body of men from Taunton. He was not in the way: so Fletcher, not seeing him to ask his leave, thought that all things were to be in common among them, that could advance the service. After Fletcher had rid about as he was ordered, as he returned, the owner of the horse he rode on, who was a rough and ill bred man, reproached him in very injurious terms, for taking out his horse without his leave. Fletcher bore this longer than could have been expected from one of his impetuous temper. But the other persisted in giving him foul language, and offered a switch or a cudgel: upon which he discharged his pistol at him, and fatally shot him dead. He went and gave the duke of Monmouth an account of this, who saw it was impossible to keep him longer about him, without disgusting and losing the country people, who were coming in a body to demand justice. So he advised him to go aboard the ship, and to sail on to Spain, whither she was bound. By this means he was preserved for that time^u.

^u (Oldmixon in his History of England, p. 376, where he asserts, that he had the account from people on the spot, says, that the person shot by Fletcher was a farmer at Lyme; but Dr. Lingard, very probably on sufficient authority, relates, that it was Dare of Taunton, who had come over with the duke of Monmouth, and now held the offices of secretary

Ferguson ran among the people with all the fury of an enraged man, that affected to pass for an enthusiast, though all his performances that way were forced and dry. The duke of Monmouth's great error was, that he did not in the first heat venture on some hardy action, and then march either to Exeter or Bristol; where, as he would have found much wealth, so he would have gained some reputation by it. But he lingered in exercising his men, and stayed too long in the neighbourhood of Lime. 1685.

By this means the king had time both to bring troops out of Scotland, after Argyle was taken, and to send to Holland for the English and Scotch regiments that were in the service of the States; 643 which the prince sent over very readily, and offered his own person, and a greater force, if it was necessary^x. The king received this with great expressions of acknowledgment and kindness. It was very visible, that he was much distracted in his thoughts, and that what appearance of courage soever he might put on, he was inwardly full of apprehensions and fears. He durst not accept of the offer of assistance that the French made him: for by that he would have

and paymaster to him, a man who possessed considerable influence among the lower classes of the people. History of England, vol. X. c. 2. page 160. Dare, then permanently residing at Amsterdam, is frequently mentioned in Lord Grey's *Confession*. Perhaps this was the man, or at least

a kinsman of his, who told king Charles II, when he asked him, on his presenting an obnoxious petition, how he dared to bring him such a paper, that his name was *Dare*.

^x The king was too wise to accept it on many accounts. *Cole's MS. note.*

1685. lost the hearts of the English nation^y. And he had no mind to be much obliged to the prince of Orange, or to let him into his counsels or affairs. Prince George committed a great error in not asking the command of the army: for the command, how much soever he might have been bound to the counsels of others, would have given him some lustre; whereas his staying at home in such time of danger brought him under much neglect^z.

The earl of Fever-sham commanded the king's army.

The king could not choose worse than he did, when he gave the command to the earl of Fever-sham, who was a Frenchman by birth, and nephew to Mr. de Turenne. Both his brothers changing religion, though he continued still a protestant, made that his religion was not much trusted to.

^y And with the greatest reason. *Cole*.

^z Prince George of Denmark was the most indolent of all mankind, had given great proofs of bravery in his own country, where he was much beloved. King Charles the second told my father he had tried him, drunk and sober, but "God's fish," there was nothing in him. His behaviour at the revolution shewed he could be made a tool of upon occasion; but king William treated him with the utmost contempt. When queen Ann came to the crown, she shewed him little respect, but expected every body else should give him more than was his due: but it was soon found out that his interposing was a prejudice in obtaining favours at court.

All foreign princes had him in very low esteem; and Mr. Hill told me, the duke of Savoy asked him if prince George ever lay with the queen, for he had no notion how a prince that was married to the queen, could be so much neglected as not to be king, unless he had some natural infirmities. After thirty years living in England, he died of eating and drinking, without any man's thinking himself obliged to him: but I have been told that he would sometimes do ill offices, though he never did a good one. *D.* (Compare Dartmouth's note afterwards at p. 489. vol. II. folio edit. of Burnet's Hist. where his lordship complains of the prince's never having made any effort to serve him.)

He was an honest, brave, and good-natured man, but weak to a degree not easy to be conceived. 1685. And he conducted matters so ill, that every step he made was like to prove fatal to the king's service. He had no parties abroad. He got no intelligence : and was almost surprised, and like to be defeated, when he seemed to be under no apprehension, but was a-bed without any care or order. So that, if the duke of Monmouth had got but a very small number of good soldiers about him, the king's affairs would have fallen into great disorder.

The duke of Monmouth had almost surprised lord Feversham, and all about him, while they were a-bed. He got in between two bodies, into which the army lay divided. He now saw his error in lingering so long. He began to want bread, and to be so straitened, that there was a necessity of pushing for a speedy decision^a. He was so misled in his march, that he lost an hour's time : and when he came near the army, there was an inconsiderable ditch, in the passing which he lost so much more time, that the officers had leisure to rise and be dressed, now they had the alarm. And they put themselves in order. Yet the duke of Monmouth's foot stood longer and fought better than could have been expected : especially, when the small body of horse they had,

^a (The duke was also obliged to attack the king's army on the account of his wanting money to pay his troops ; and this was occasioned by the king's having secured the persons of those disaffected citi-

zens of London through whose hands supplies of money were conveyed to him. See Allstree's Thanksgiving Sermon, preached immediately after this rebellion, p. 25.)

1685. ran upon the first charge, the blame of which was

644 cast on the lord Grey^b. The foot being thus forsaken, and galled by the cannon, did run at last.

The duke
of Mon-
mouth de-
feated.

About a thousand of them were killed on the spot: and fifteen hundred were taken prisoners. Their numbers, when fullest, were between five and six thousand. The duke of Monmouth left the field too soon for a man of courage, who had such high pretensions: for a few days before he had suffered himself to be called king, which did him no service, even among those that followed him. He rode towards Dorsetshire: and when his horse could carry him no further, he changed clothes with a shepherd, and went as far as his legs could carry him, being accompanied only with a German, whom he had brought over with him. At last, when he could go no further, he lay down in a field where there was hay and straw, with which they covered themselves, so that they hoped to lie there unseen till night. Parties went out on all hands to take prisoners. The shepherd was found by the lord Lumley in the duke of Monmouth's clothes. So this put them on his track, and having some dogs with them they followed the scent, and came to the place where the German was first discovered. And he immediately pointed

And taken. to the place where the duke of Monmouth lay. So he was taken in a very indecent dress and posture.

^b (This cowardly, or, what is worse, perfidious person was pardoned by king James in consequence of the confession which he made of his several treasons; and after the revo-

lution was created earl of Tankerville by king William, and likewise appointed first commissioner of the treasury and lord privy seal.)

His body was quite sunk with fatigue: and his mind was now so low, that he begged his life in a manner that agreed ill with the courage of the former parts of it. He called for pen, ink, and paper; and wrote to the earl of Feversham, and both to the queen, and the queen dowager, to intercede with the king for his life. The king's temper, as well as his interest, made it so impossible to hope for that, that it shewed a great meanness in him to ask it in such terms as he used in his letters. He was carried up to Whitehall; where the king examined him in person, which was thought very indecent, since he was resolved not to pardon him^c. He made new and unbecoming submissions, and insinuated a readiness to change his religion: for he said, the king knew what his first education was in religion^d. There were no discoveries to be got from him; for the attempt was too rash to be well concerted, or to be so deep laid that many were involved in the guilt of it. He was examined on Monday,

1685.

^c The duke of Monmouth pressed extremely that the king would see him, from whence the king concluded he had something to say to him, that he would tell to nobody else: but when he found it ended in nothing but lower submission than he either expected or desired, he told him plainly he had put it out of his power to pardon him, by having proclaimed himself king. Thus, as the bishop observes in another place, may the most in-

nocent actions of a man's life be sometimes turned to his disadvantage. D. (Was proclaiming himself king one of the most innocent actions of Monmouth's life?)

^d (This particular, concerning which Mr. Fox, in his *Historical Work*, p. 277, professes his doubts, is now confirmed by the account of this interview in the *Life of James the second*, published by Dr. Clarke, from the *Stuart Papers*, vol. II. p. 37.)

1685. and orders were given for his execution on
 ——— Wednesday^e.

645 Turner and Ken, the bishops of Ely and of
 Soon after Bath and Wells, were ordered to wait on him.
 executed. But he called for Dr. Tennison. The bishops
 studied to convince him of the sin of rebellion.
 He answered, he was sorry for the blood that was
 shed in it: but he did not seem to repent of the
 design. Yet he confessed that his father had
 often told him, that there was no truth in the
 reports of his having married his mother. This
 he set under his hand, probably for his children's
 sake, who were then prisoners in the tower, that
 so they might not be ill used on his account.
 He shewed a great neglect of his duchess. And
 her resentments for his course of life with the
 lady Wentworth wrought so much on her, that
 [she seemed not to have any of that tenderness
 left, that became her sex and his present circum-
 stances; for] though he desired to speak privately
 with her, she would have witnesses to hear all
 that passed, to justify herself, and to preserve her
 family. They parted very coldly^f. He only re-

^e (Mr. Fox observes, p. 278, that the bill of attainder which had lately passed, superseded the necessity of a legal trial.)

^f (Mr. Rose, in the Appendix to his Observations on Fox's Historical Work, has printed from a MS. belonging to the Buccleugh family an account of the behaviour of the duke of Monmouth from the time he was taken to his

execution, in which a different representation is made of the conduct of both parties. "He
 " (the duke) gave her the
 " kindest character that could
 " be, and begged her pardon
 " of his many failings and
 " offences to her, and prayed
 " her to continue her kind-
 " ness and care to his poor
 " children. At this expres-
 " sion, she fell down on her

commended to her the breeding their children in the protestant religion. The bishops continued still to press on him a deep sense of the sin of rebellion; at which he grew so uneasy, that he desired them to speak to him of other matters. They next charged him with the sin of living with the lady Wentworth as he had done. In that he justified himself: he had married his duchess too young to give a true consent: he said, that lady was a pious worthy woman, and that he had never lived so well in all respects, as since his engagements with her. All the pains they took to convince him of the unlawfulness of that course of life had no effect. They did certainly very well in discharging their consciences, and speaking so plainly to him. But they did very ill to talk so much of this matter, and to make it so public as they did; for divines ought not to repeat what they say to dying penitents, no more than what the penitents say to them. By this means the duke of Monmouth had little satisfaction in them, and they had as little in him.

He was much better pleased with Dr. Tennison, who did very plainly speak to him, with relation to his public actings, and to his course of life: but he did it in a softer and less peremptory

“knees with her eyes full of tears, and begged him to pardon her, if ever she had done any thing to offend and displease him, and embracing his knees fell into a sound out of which they had much ado to raise her up, in a good while after.”

p. lxxii. But Burnet's account of the general coldness of the interview is supported by other testimony. See Lingard's Hist. vol. X. ch. 2. p. 574, where it is related, that there were two interviews between the duke and the duchess.)

1685. manner. And having said all that he thought proper, he left those points, in which he saw he could not convince him, to his own conscience, and turned to other things fit to be laid before a dying man. The duke begged one day more of life with such repeated earnestness, that as the king was much blamed for denying so small a favour, so it gave occasion to others to believe, that he had some hope from astrologers, that, if

646 he outlived that day, he might have a better fate^g. As long as he fancied there was any hope, he was too much unsettled in his mind to be capable of any thing^h.

He died
with great
calmness.

But when he saw all was to no purpose, and that he must die, he complained a little that his death was hurried on so fast. But all on the sudden he came into a composure of mind that surprised those that saw it. There was no affect-

^g My uncle, colonel William Legge, who went in the coach with him to London, as a guard, with orders to stab him, if there were any disorders upon the road, shewed me several charms that were tied about him when he was taken, and his tablebook, which was full of astrological figures that nobody could understand. But he told my uncle that they had been given him some years before in Scotland, and said he now found they were but foolish conceits. D. (The bishop's account is confirmed by king James also, in his Life lately published, p. 40.)

^h When my father carried him to the tower, he pressed

him in a most indecent manner to intercede once more with the king for his life, upon any terms; and told him he knew lord Dartmouth loved king Charles; therefore for his sake, and God's sake, to try if there were yet no room for mercy. My father said, the king had told him the truth, which was, that he had made it impracticable to save his life, by having declared himself king. "That's my misfortune," said he, "and those that put me upon it will fare better themselves:" and then told him, that Lord Grey had threatened to leave him upon their first landing, if he did not do it. D.

ation in it. His whole behaviour was easy and calm, not without a decent cheerfulness. He prayed God to forgive all his sins, unknown as well as known. He seemed confident of the mercies of God, and that he was going to be happy with him. And he went to the place of execution on Tower-hill with an air of undisturbed courage, that was grave and composed. He said little there, only that he was sorry for the blood that was shed: but he had ever meant well to the nation. When he saw the ax, he touched it, and said, it was not sharp enough. He gave the hangman but half the reward he intended; and said, if he cut off his head cleverly, and not so butcherly as he did the lord Russel's, his man would give him the rest. The executioner was in great disorder, trembling all over: so he gave him two or three strokes without being able to finish the matter, and then flung the ax out of his hand. But the sheriff forced him to take it up: and at three or four more strokes he severed his head from his body: and both were presently buried in the chapel of the tower. Thus lived and died this unfortunate young man. He had several good qualities in him, and some that were as bad. He was soft and gentle even to excess, and too easy to those who had credit with him. He was both sincere and good-natured, and understood war well. But he was too much given to pleasure and to favouritesⁱ.

1685.

ⁱ (An anecdote favourable to Monmouth's character is given by lord Grey in his Confession, p. 61. "My lord Mac-

clesfield, (Gerard,) the duke said to me, had made a barbarous proposal, which was, the murdering your majesty,

1685.

Lord Grey
pardoned.

The lord Grey, it was thought, would go next. But he had a great estate that by his death was to go over to his brother. So the court resolved to preserve him, till he should be brought to compound for his life. The earl of Rochester had 16,000*l.* of him^k. Others had smaller shares. He was likewise obliged to tell all he knew^l, and to

“ (then duke of York,) for that, my lord said, would frighten the king into a compliance. The duke of Monmouth expressed himself with the greatest abhorrence of such an action that can be imagined, and said, he would not consent to the murdering the meanest creature, (though the worst enemy he had in the world,) for all the advantages under heaven; and should never have any esteem for my lord Macclesfield while he lived.” On the other hand it must be observed, that sir John Dalrymple, in his *Memoirs*, vol. I. page 60, mentions the following circumstance: “Brigadier Hook, the author of the *Memoirs*, who was afterwards pardoned by king James, followed him into France, and became his secretary there, owned to James, when he was seized during Monmouth’s rebellion, that Danvers and he had engaged to Monmouth to assassinate him, if they could not bring about the insurrection (in London) they meditated.” It is probable that Hook did not give this information, till after the

duke’s execution, otherwise the king would have been still more justified in ordering it to take place.)

^k It was a bond for 40,000*l.* which he had no benefit from, chiefly by the interventions of parliamentary privilege, till after the act for the restraining of the privilege of parliament, 12 and 13 of William III. ch. 3. which act was obtained by the earl of Rochester’s friends, and after it passed, the lord Grey, then earl of Tankerfield, compounded with the earl of Rochester for 16,000*l.* Many good public laws have arisen from private cases. Sir John Levison Gower carried the bill through the house of commons. He was brother to the wife of the earl of Rochester’s eldest son. O.

^l In a narrative that has been lately published, by which he discovers also the whole of the plot of 1683, and makes lord Russel to have been very deep in it, except as to the king’s person, or change of the government. This is the same with what I have mentioned before, under the appellation of lord Grey’s paper. O.

be a witness in order to the conviction of others, 1685. but with this assurance, that nobody should die upon his evidence. So the lord Brandon, son to the earl of Macclesfield, was convicted by his and some other evidence. Mr. Hambden was also brought on his trial. And he was told, that he must expect no favour unless he would plead guilty. And he, knowing that legal evidence 647 would be brought against him, submitted to this: and begged his life with a meanness, of which he himself was so ashamed afterwards, that it gave his spirits a depression and disorder that he could never quite master^m. And that had a terrible conclusion; for about ten years after he cut his own throat.

The king was now as successful as his own heart could wish. He had held a session of parliament in both kingdoms, that had settled his revenue: and now two ill prepared and ill managed rebellions had so broken all the party that was against him, that he seemed secure in his throne, and above the power of all his enemies. And certainly a reign that was now so beyond expectation successful in its first six months seemed so well settled, that no ordinary mismanagement could have spoiled such beginnings. If the king had ordered a speedy execution of such persons as were fit to be made public examples, and had upon that granted a general indemnity, and if he had but covered his intentions till he had got through another session of parliament, it is not

The king
was lifted
up with his
successes.

^m See antea, p. 539. O.

1685. easy to imagine with what advantage he might then have opened and pursued his designs.

But it had
an ill effect
on his af-
fairs.

But his own temper, and the fury of some of his ministers, and the maxims of his priests, who were become enthusiastical upon this success, and fancied that nothing could now stand before him: all these concurred to make him lose advantages that were never to be recovered: for the shews of mercy, that were afterwards put on, were looked on as an aftergame, to retrieve that which was now lost. The army was kept for some time in the western counties, where both officers and soldiers lived as in an enemy's country, and treated all that were believed to be ill affected to the king with great rudeness and violence.

Great cru-
elties com-
mitted by
his soldiers.

Kirk, who had commanded long in Tangier, was become so savage by the neighbourhood of the Moors there, that some days after the battle, he ordered several of the prisoners to be hanged up at Taunton, without so much as the form of law, he and his company looking on from an entertainment they were at. At every new health another prisoner was hanged up. And they were so brutal, that observing the shaking of the legs of those whom they hanged, it was said among them, they were dancing; and upon that music was called for. This was both so illegal and so inhuman, that it might have been expected that some notice would have been taken of it. But Kirk was only chid for itⁿ. And it was said, that

ⁿ The bishop might have added, that no man was better received, or more caressed by king William; but he does him the justice to take notice of the engagement he was under to the king of Morocco, in another place, (p. 684.)

he had a particular order for some military executions: so that he could only be chid for the manner of it. [Some particulars relating to that matter are too indecent to be mentioned by me.] 1685. 648

But, as if this had been nothing, Jefferies was sent the western circuit to try the prisoners. His behaviour was beyond any thing that was ever heard of in a civilized nation. He was perpetually either drunk or in a rage, liker a fury than the zeal of a judge. He required the prisoners to plead guilty. And in that case he gave them some hope of favour, if they gave him no trouble: otherwise, he told them, he would execute the letter of the law upon them in its utmost severity. This made many plead guilty, who had a great

And much greater by Jefferies.

which it is possible procured him so much favour. D. (Perhaps colonel Kirk might be under other engagements to other princes besides the king of Morocco. Oldmixon, in his History of the Stuarts, gives the following account: "One thing must be remembered of this Kirk, who protested that his commission went further, and that he had put a restraint on the power and the instructions that were given him, which shews he was apprehensive that king James would make such an ill use of his victory as to occasion a more successful attempt against him in a few years. For when he took leave of a gentleman, Mr. Harvey of the castle in Bridgewater, who had been very civil to him, he shook

him by the hand, and said, "I believe it will not be long before I see you again;" and by his motions gave him to understand it would not be on the same side." P. 7c5. It was through Kirk that Jeffries informed Burnet, then residing in Holland, of a conversation he had had with the king, which portended danger to the bishop. See afterwards, vol. I. p. 730, folio edition. And at page 763 Burnet says expressly, that Kirk espoused the interests of the prince of Orange before his expedition to England. He was in the number of those persons, who were accused by sir John Fenwick of sending to king James, after the revolution, assurances of their good services. See Oldmixon's Hist. of England, p. 152.

1685. defence in law. But he shewed no mercy. He ordered a great many to be hanged up immediately, without allowing them a minute's time to say their prayers. He hanged, in several places, about six hundred persons°. The greatest part of these were of the meanest sort, and of no distinction. The impieties with which he treated them, and his behaviour towards some of the nobility and gentry that were well affected, but came and pleaded in favour of some prisoners, would have amazed one, if done by a bashaw in Turkey. England had never known any thing like it. The instances are too many to be reckoned up.

With which
the king
was well
pleased.

But that which brought all his excesses to be imputed to the king himself, and to the orders given by him, was, that the king had a particular account of all his proceedings writ to him every day^p. And he took pleasure to relate them in the drawing room to foreign ministers, and at his table, calling it Jefferies's campaign: speaking of all he had done in a style that neither became the

° ("Jefferies condemned in
"all these places above five
"hundred persons, whereof
"two hundred and thirty were
"executed, and had their quar-
"ters set up in the principal
"places and roads of those
"countries, to the terror of
"passengers, and the great
"annoyance of those parts."
Echard's History of England,
p. 1068. Hume, after Ralph,
says, besides those butchered
by the military commanders,
that two hundred and fifty-
one are computed to have fallen

by the hands of justice. Vol.
VI. p. 386. Macaulay, in his
History of England, vol. I. p.
646, relates, that the number
of the rebels whom Jeffries
hanged, amounted to three
hundred and twenty. In an
account printed in 1716, of
the proceedings against the
rebels in the west, before Jef-
fries and other judges, there
is a list of the names of per-
sons ordered for transporta-
tion, amounting to more than
eight hundred and fifty.)

^p See postea, p. 651. O.

majesty nor the mercifulness of a great prince. 1685.
 Dykfield was at that time in England, one of the
 ambassadors whom the States had sent over to
 congratulate the king's coming to the crown. He
 told me, that the king talked so often of these
 things in his hearing, that he wondered to see
 him break out into those indecencies. And upon
 Jefferies's coming back, he was created a baron
 and peer of England: a dignity which, though
 anciently some judges were raised to it, yet in
 these latter ages, as there was no example of it,
 so it was thought inconsistent with the character
 of a judge^q.

Two executions were of such an extraordinary nature, that they deserve a more particular recital. The king apprehended that many of the prisoners had got into London, and were concealed there. So he said, those who concealed them were the worst sort of traitors, who endeavoured to preserve such persons to a better time. He had likewise 649
 a great mind to find out any among the rich merchants, who might afford great compositions to save their lives: for though there was much blood shed, there was little booty got to reward those who had served. Upon this the king declared, he would sooner pardon the rebels than those who had harboured them.

There was in London one Gaunt, a woman that was an anabaptist, who spent a great part of her life in acts of charity, visiting the gaols, and looking after the poor of what persuasion soever they

^q He was created a baron of the Lords, 19th of May, and peer before. See Journal 1685. O.

1685. were. One of the rebels found her out, and she harboured him in her house; and was looking for an occasion of sending him out of the kingdom. He went about in the night, and came to hear what the king had said. So he, by an unheard-of baseness, went and delivered himself, and accused her that harboured him. She was seized on and tried. There was no witness to prove that she knew that the person she harboured was a rebel, but he himself: her maid witnessed only, that he was entertained at her house. But though the crime was her harbouring a traitor, and was proved only by this infamous witness, yet the judge charged the jury to bring her in guilty, pretending that the maid was a second witness, though she knew nothing of that which was the criminal part. She was condemned, and burnt, as the law directs in the case of women convict of treason. She died with a constancy, even to a cheerfulness, that struck all that saw it. She said, charity was a part of her religion, as well as faith: this at worst was the feeding an enemy: so she hoped, she had her reward with him, for whose sake she did this service, how unworthy soever the person was, that made so ill a return for it: she rejoiced, that God had honoured her to be the first that suffered by fire in this reign: and that her suffering was a martyrdom for that religion which was all love. Pen, the quaker, told me, he saw her die. She laid the straw about her for burning her speedily; and behaved herself in such a manner, that all the spectators melted in tears.

The other execution was of a woman of greater

quality: the lady Lisle. Her husband had been a regicide, and was one of Cromwell's lords, and was called the lord Lisle^r. He went at the time of the restoration beyond sea, and lived at Lausanne. But three desperate Irishmen, hoping by such a service to make their fortunes, went thither, and killed him as he was going to church; and being well mounted, and ill pursued, got into France. His lady was known to be much affected 1685. 650 with the king's death, and not easily reconciled to her husband for the share he had in it. She was a woman of great piety and charity. The night after the action, Hicks, a violent preacher among the dissenters, and Nelthorp, came to her house. She knew Hicks^s, and treated him civilly, not asking from whence they came. But Hicks told what brought them thither; for they had been with the duke of Monmouth. Upon which she went out of the room immediately, and ordered her chief servant to send an information concerning them to the next justice of peace, and in the mean while to suffer them to make their escape. But, before this could be done, a party came about the house, and took both them and her for harbouring them^t. Jefferies resolved to

^r He had been a commissioner of the great seal in those times. O.

^s (This Hickes was brother of the celebrated doctor Hickes, dean of Worcester, who is charged with the inhumanity of having refused to apply for his brother's pardon after his condemnation. But consult

the *Biographia Britannica*, Article *Hickes*.)

^t ("Nelthorp's name was in a proclamation, and Mrs. Lisle acknowledges in the trial, that she knew at the time he came to her house that he was named in it. As to having informed a justice of peace of the rebels

1685. make a sacrifice of her ; and obtained of the king a promise that he would not pardon her. Which the king owned to the earl of Feversham, when he, upon the offer of a 1000*l.* if he could obtain her pardon, went and begged it. So she was brought to her trial. No legal proof was brought, that she knew that they were rebels: the names of the persons found in her house were in no proclamation: so there was no notice given to beware of them. Jefferies affirmed to the jury upon his honour, that the persons had confessed that they had been with the duke of Monmouth. This was the turning a witness against her, after which he ought not to have judged in the matter^u. And, though it was insisted on, as a point of law,

“ being at her house, she never
 “ makes this a part of her defence.” *Salmon’s Examination of Burnet’s Hist.* p. 1005. This lady, whose condemnation the most infamous of judges procured by an astounding vehemence in his examination of the witnesses, and by urging with violence the jury, was of very ancient extraction; as was also her husband Lisle, whose family, not long since extinct in the male line, took its name from the Isle of Wight.)

^u (“ After a long and most severe examination, accompanied with threats and adjurations, Jeffreys had extracted the truth from a prevaricating witness, and an acknowledgment that the first part of his testimony was false. The judge then,

“ to account for what must have appeared extraordinary in his own conduct, observed that it proceeded from his knowledge, that the witness was perjured, because Nelthorpe himself, one of the parties, had privately confessed to him all the circumstances. Aware, however, that in making this remark he had gone too far, he added, that he would not mention any such thing as any piece of evidence to influence the case, but he could not but tremble to think, after what he knew, that any man should dare so much to prevaricate with God and man, as to tell such horrid lies in the face of the court. *State Trials*, XI. 355.” *Lingard’s Hist. of England*, X. 2. p. 180. note.)

that till the persons found in her house were convicted, she could not be found guilty, yet Jefferies charged the jury in a most violent manner to bring her in guilty. All the audience was strangely affected with so unusual a behaviour in a judge. Only the person most concerned, the lady herself, who was then past seventy, was so little moved at it, that she fell asleep. The jury brought her in not guilty. But the judge in great fury sent them out again. Yet they brought her in a second time not guilty. Then he seemed as in a transport of rage. He upon that threatened them with an attaind of jury. And they, overcome with fear, brought her in the third time guilty^x. The king would shew no other favour, but that he changed the sentence from burning to beheading. She died with great constancy of mind; and expressed a joy, that she thus suffered for an act of charity and piety.

Most of those that had suffered expressed at their death such a calm firmness, and such a zeal for their religion, which they believed was then in danger, that it made great impressions on the spectators. Some base men among them tried to save themselves by accusing others. Goodenough, who had been under-sheriff of London when Cornish was sheriff, offered to swear against Cornish; and also said, that Rumsey had not discovered all he knew^y. So Rumsey, to save himself, joined with Goodenough, to swear Cornish guilty of that

1685.

The behaviour of those who suffered.

651

^x (A most inaccurate statement. See the Trial.)

land, practised law, and died there. S.

^y Goodenough went to Ire-

1685. for which the lord Russel had suffered. And this was driven on so fast, that Cornish was seized on, tried, and executed within the week. If he had got a little time, the falsehood of the evidence would have been proved from Rumsey's former deposition, which appeared so clearly soon after his death, that his estate was restored to his family, and the witnesses were lodged in remote prisons for their lives. Cornish at his death asserted his innocence with great vehemence; and with some acrimony complained of the methods taken to destroy him. And so they gave it out, that he died in a fit of fury. But Pen, who saw the execution, said to me, there appeared nothing but a just indignation that innocence might very naturally give^z. Pen might be well relied on in such matters, he being so entirely in the king's interests. He said to me, the king was much to be pitied, who was hurried into all this effusion of blood by Jefferies's impetuous and cruel temper^a.

^z ("He appeared to me," says doctor Calamy, the non-conformist divine, "to be in "a constant agony from the "very time of his coming to "the gibbet." Calamy's *Historical Account of his own Life*, lately published, p. 121.)

^a See antea, p. 648. When Jeffries was dying in the tower, he was attended upon that occasion by Dr. Scot, one of the most respectable divines of that time: and as the doctor was exhorting him to a remembrance and repentance of his sins, he mentioned to him what the world had said

of his behaviour in these prosecutions: upon which Jeffries thanked him for putting him in mind of that, and with some emotion said to Scot, "Whatever I did then, I did "by express orders; and I "have this farther to say for "myself, that I was not half "bloody enough for him who "sent me thither," and soon afterwards expired. This I had from sir J. Jekyl, who told me, that my lord Somers told it him, and that he (lord Somers) had it from Scot himself. O. (This relation had appeared in Tindal's Continu-

But, if his own inclinations had not been biassed that way, and if his priests had not thought it 1685.

ation of Rapin's Hist. of England. The king's conduct is endeavoured to be excused in his Life, lately published from the Stuart Papers, vol. II. page 42—46. And the duke of Bucks incidentally observes, that James never forgave the lord Jeffries's cruelties in the west; committed *against his express orders*. Account of the Revolution, p. 4. His credit afterwards was certainly much diminished at court. The fact that the king was not offended with bishop Ken, but that he afterwards thanked him, for his daily relieving and praying with great numbers of the rebel prisoners at Wells, is ascertained. See the Life of Ken, in the Biographia Britannica, and Hawkins's Life of the bishop. In addition to this, sir Thomas Cutler, the commanding officer at Wells, asserted, that when, out of compassion for these poor people, he and bishop Ken jointly interceded for the extension of the royal mercy to them, their request was granted without any signs of reluctance; and that the king afterwards meeting with sir Thomas thanked him for his intercession, expressed how agreeable it was to him, and wished that the like humanity had engaged others to act in the same way. See Reflections upon Dr. Burnet's Posthumous Hist. 1724, 8vo. p. 100. The

suggestion that Ken was not at that time in the west, has been satisfactorily answered by Mr. Markland in the bishop's Life, affixed to his *Prayers*, p. 67. On the other hand, the truth of the fact, that Jeffries threw the blame on the king in his last hours, cannot be doubted, as it is supported by the testimony of such men as Onslow, Jekyll, Somers, and Scott.—This was formerly written. But since the first edition of these Notes on Burnet's History, a Life of archbishop Sharp by his son the archdeacon, founded on his father's Memoranda, has appeared. Sharp, during the attack on him by the court, had met with some favour from Jeffries, and in return for the obligation kindly visited him during his imprisonment in the tower. Jeffries, adds the author, "was not a little surprised at his constancy, as appears by his salutation of him at his first entrance into the room, in these words; *What dare you own me now?* The doctor, seeing his condition, judged he should not lose the opportunity of being serviceable to his lordship as a divine, if it was in his power to be so; and freely expostulated with him upon his public actions, and particularly the *affair in the west*. To which last charge, his lordship returned this answer, 'that he

1685. the interest of their party to let that butcher loose, by which so many men that were like to oppose them were put out of the way, it is not to be imagined, that there would have been such a run of barbarous cruelty, and that in so many instances^b.

"had done nothing in that affair without the advice and concurrence of . . . who 'now,' said he, 'is the darling of the people.'" *Life of John Sharp, D.D., Lord Archbishop of York, &c.* vol. I. p. 97. Lond. 1825. Jeffries died in April 1689, about two months after the final settlement of the nation. At page 1131 of his history of England, Echard says that Jeffries died "before he had opportunity to discover some *arcana imperii*, which by his own offer the world expected from him." He adds, on the information of a person who was often with Jeffries during his confinement, "that his lordship very much complained of the repeated advice of a reverend prelate, who incited him to go those lengths with him in the ecclesiastical commission, and then by innuendo does publicly charged it upon him." Sprat, bishop of Rochester, is here meant, who had about this time published an Apology for his own conduct preceding the revolution. As to the archbishop's relation now brought to light; it appears, that when bishop Burnet was in Holland, Jeffries through Kirk, who, as he reports, espoused

the interests of the prince of Orange, informed Burnet of the king's designs against him. And the advice Jeffries subsequently gave, recommending the prosecution of the seven bishops, suits with the design to make the king as odious as was possible. In the mean time, it is anxiously to be considered, whether the testimony of so bad a man as Jeffries ought to be admitted against the prince of Orange, whom he did certainly accuse, whether he ever meant to accuse king James, or not.)

^b (Roger North, in his *Life of the Lord Keeper North*, speaks of his brother's interference on the occasion, and of orders going "to mitigate the proceedings," adding, "but with what effect I know not. I am sure of his lordship's intercession to the king, being told it at the very time by himself," p. 260. He seems sure of the intercession by the lord Keeper. But Jeffries commenced his bloody circuit at the latter end of August, and the lord Keeper died in the very beginning of September. Ralph has noticed this anachronism in his *History of England*, vol. I. p. 893, and it has of late been commented

It gave a general horror to the body of the nation : and it let all people see, what might be expected from a reign that seemed to delight in blood^c. Even some of the fiercest of the Tories began to relent a little, and to think they had trusted too much, and gone too far. The king had raised new regiments, and had given commissions to papists. This was overlooked during the time of danger, in which all men's service was to be made use of : and by law they might serve three months. But now, as that time was near lapsing, the king began to say, the laws for the two tests were made on design against himself : the first was made to turn him out of the admiralty, and the second to make way for the exclusion : and, he added, that it was an affront to him to insist on the observance of those laws. So these persons, notwithstanding that act, were continued in commission : and the king declared openly, that he must look on all those, who would not consent to the repeal of those laws, in the next session of parliament, as his enemies.

1685.
The nation was much changed by this management.

The courtiers began every where to declaim against them. It was said to be against the rights of the crown to deny the king the service of all his subjects, to be contrary to the dignity of peerage to subject peers to any other tests than their allegiance, and that it was an insufferable affront done the king, to oblige all those whom he

Great disputes for and against the tests.

on with great severity. It is however possible, that the lord Keeper did recommend merciful measures to the king, before his old adversary Jeffries set out on the circuit, and that he mentioned having done so to his brother.)

^c The same here since the queen's death. S.

1685. should employ, to swear that his religion was idolatrous. On the other hand all people saw, that, if those acts were not maintained, no employment would be given to any but papists, or to those who gave hopes that they would change: and, if the parliament test was taken off, then the way was opened to draw over so many members of both houses, as would be in time a majority, to bring on an entire change of the laws with relation to religion. As long as the nation reckoned their kings were true and sure to their religion, there was no such need of those tests, while the giving employments was left free, and our princes were like to give them only to those of their own religion. But, since we had a prince professing another religion, it seemed the only security that was left to the nation, and that the tests stood as a barrier to defend us from it. It was also said, that those tests had really quieted the minds of the greater part of the nation, and had united them against the exclusion; since they reckoned their religion was safe by reason of them. The military men went in zealously into those notions; for they saw, that, as soon as the king should get rid of the tests, they must either change their religion, or lose their employments. The clergy, who for most part had hitherto run in with fury to all the king's interests, began now to open their eyes. Thus all on a sudden the temper of the nation was much altered. The marquis of Halifax did move in council, that an order should be given to examine, whether all the officers in commission had taken the test, or not. But none seconded

him: so the motion fell. And now all endeavours 1685.
 were used, to fix the repeal of the tests in the
 session that was coming on.

Some few converts were made at this time. Some
 The chief of these were the earl of Perth, and his change
 brother the earl of Melfort. Some differences their reli-
gion.
 fell in between the duke of Queensborough and
 the earl of Perth. The latter thought the former
 was haughty and violent, and that he used him in
 too imperious a manner. So they broke. At that 653
 time the king published his brother's two papers,
 found in his strong box. So the earl of Perth
 was either overcome with the reasons in them, or
 he thought it would look well at court, if he put
 his conversion upon these. He came up to com-
 plain of the duke of Queensborough. And his
 brother going to meet him at Ware, he discovered
 his design to him, who seemed at first much
 troubled at it: but he plied him so, that he pre-
 vailed on him to join with him in his pretended
 conversion, which he did with great shews of de-
 votion and zeal. But when his objections to the
 duke of Queensborough's administration were
 heard, they were so slight, that the king was
 ashamed of them; and all the court justified the
 duke of Queensborough. A repartee of the mar-
 quis of Halifax was much talked of on this occa-
 sion. The earl of Perth was taking pains to
 convince him, that he had just grounds of com-
 plaint, and seemed little concerned in the ill effect
 this might have on himself. The marquis answered
 him, he needed fear nothing, *his faith would make*
him whole: and it proved so.

1685.

The duke
of Queens-
borough
disgraced.

Before he declared his change, the king seemed so well satisfied with the duke of Queensborough, that he was resolved to bring the earl of Perth to a submission, otherwise to dismiss him. But such converts were to be encouraged. So the king, having declared himself too openly to recall that so soon, ordered them both to go back to Scotland; and said, he would signify his pleasure to them when they should be there. It followed them down very quickly. The duke of Queensborough was turned out of the treasury, and it was put in commission: and he, not to be too much irritated at once, was put first in the commission. And now it became soon very visible, that he had the secret no more; but that it was lodged between the two brothers, the earls of Perth and Melfort. Soon after that, the duke of Queensborough was not only turned out of all his employments, but a design was laid to ruin him. All persons were encouraged to bring accusations against him, either with relation to the administration of the government, or of the treasury. And, if any colourable matter could have been found against him, it was resolved to have made him a sacrifice. This sudden hatred, after so entire a confidence, was imputed to the suggestions the earl of Perth had made of his zeal against popery, and of his having engaged all his friends to stick firm in opposition to it. It was said, there was no
654 need of making such promises, as he had engaged the king to make to the parliament of Scotland: nobody desired or expected them: he only drove that matter on his own account: so it was fit to

let all about the king see what was to be looked 1685.
for, if they pressed any thing too severely with
relation to religion.

But to leave Scotland, and return to England: The king declared against the tests. the king, after he had declared that he would be served by none but those who would vote for the repeal of the tests, called for the marquis of Halifax, and asked him, how he would vote in that matter. He very frankly answered, he would never consent to it: he thought, the keeping up those laws was necessary, even for the king's service, since the nation trusted so much to them, that the public quiet was chiefly preserved by that means. Upon this the king told him, that though he would never forget past services, yet since he could not be prevailed on in that particular, he was resolved to have all of a piece. So he was turned out. And the earl of Sunderland was made lord president, and continued still secretary of state. More were not questioned at that time, nor turned out: for it was hoped, that, since all men saw what was to be expected if they should not comply with the king's intentions, this would have its full effect upon those who had no mind to part with their places.

The king resolved also to model Ireland, so as Proceedings in Ireland. to make that kingdom a nursery for his army in England, and to be sure at least of an army there, while his designs were to go on more slowly in the isle of Britain. The Irish^d bore an inveterate hatred to the duke of Ormond: so he was re-

^d Irish papists, I suppose he means. O.

1685. called^e. But, to dismiss him with some shew of respect, he was still continued lord steward of the household. The earl of Clarendon was declared lord lieutenant. But the army was put under the command of Talbot, who was made earl of Tircconnel. And he began very soon to model it anew. The archbishop of Armagh had continued long lord chancellor of Ireland, and was in all points so compliant to the court, that even his religion came to be suspected on that account^f. Yet, it seemed, he was not thought thoroughpaced. So sir Charles Porter, who was a zealous promoter of every thing that the king proposed, and was a

^e (This illustrious and loyal nobleman, in an unpublished Letter found amongst the *Southwell Papers*, written at this time to the duke of Beaufort, and dated Dec. 3, 1684, says "I know his majesty may change his servants without giving any reasons; but if he gives any, they should be well grounded.")

^f False. S. (Extracts from the letters of this prelate, when archbishop of Dublin and chancellor of Ireland, addressed to archbishop Sheldon, and now in the Bodleian library, have been given in the notes to the preceding reign. The second earl of Clarendon, who was lord lieutenant of that kingdom at the time of the archbishop's dismissal from the chancellorship, speaks thus of him in a letter to the earl of Rochester: "I will not enter into this good man's

"particular failings; no man
"is perfect; but every body
"here, who is acquainted with
"the affairs of this country
"must own him to be an able
"man, and to have done the
"crown good service in the
"worst of times. As he is a
"man of very good estate, so I
"have been here long enough
"to find that he has a very
"considerable interest upon
"that account, separate from
"any dependants upon the
"score of his great office;
"and is a man very well be-
"loved." *Clarendon Correspondence*, I. 290. It appears from an unpublished Letter of this archbishop, whose name was Boyle, addressed to sir Robert Southwell, that he concurred heartily and conscientiously with the succeeding revolution. It is dated Dublin July 9, 1690.)

man of ready wit, and being poor was thought a person fit to be made a tool of, was declared lord chancellor of Ireland^g. To these the king said, he was resolved to maintain the settlement of Ire- 1685.
land. They had authority to promise this, and to act pursuant to it. But, as both the earl of Clarendon and Porter were poor, it was hoped, that they would understand the king's intentions, and see through those promises, that were made only to lay men asleep; and that therefore they would not insist too much on them, nor pursue them too far.

But now, before I come to relate the short session of parliament that was abruptly broken off, I must mention one great transaction that went before it, and had no small influence on all men's minds. And since I saw that dismal tragedy, which was at this time acted in France, I must now change the scene, and give some account of my self. When I resolved to go beyond sea, there was no choice to be made. So many exiles and outlawed persons were scattered up and down the towns of Holland, and other provinces, that I saw the danger of going where I was sure many of them would come about me, and try to have involved me in guilt by coming into my company, that so they might engage me into their ill

The persecution in France.

^g False and scandalous. S. Notwithstanding this character of sir Charles Porter, king James did not think him *thoroughpaced* enough to carry on his views in Ireland; accordingly he remained in office but one year, and was suc-

ceeded as chancellor by sir Alexander Fitton, a man every way qualified to stretch both law and gospel to court purposes. *Mr. Seward's Note in the 28th vol. of the European Magazine.*

1685. designs. So I resolved to go to France: and, if I found it not convenient to stay there, I intended to go on to Geneva or Switzerland. I asked the French ambassador, if I might be safe there. He after some days, I suppose after he had writ to the court upon it, assured me, I should be safe there; and that, if the king should ask after me, timely notice should be given me, that I might go out of the way. So I went to Paris. And, there being many there whom I had reason to look on as spies, I took a little house, and lived by my self as privately as I could. I continued there till the beginning of August, that I went to Italy. I found the earl of Mountague^h at Paris, with whom I conversed much, and got from him most of the secrets of the court, and of the negotiations he was engaged in. The king of France had been for many years weakening the whole protestant interest there, and was then upon the last resolution of recalling the edict of Nantes. And, as far as I could judge, the affairs of England gave the last stroke to that matter.

A fatal year
to the pro-
testant reli-
gion.

This year, of which I am now writing, must ever be remembered, as the most fatal to the protestant religion. In February, a king of England declared himself a papist. In June, Charles the elector palatine dying without issue, the electoral dignity went to the house of Newburgh, a most bigoted popish family. In October, the king of France recalled and vacated the edict of Nantes.

656 And in December, the duke of Savoy being brought

^h Lord Mountague. O. (He was an earl, when the author wrote this.)

to it, not only by the persuasions, but even by the threatenings of the court of France, recalled the edict that his father had granted to the Vaudois. So it must be confessed, that this was a very critical year. And I have ever reckoned this the fifth great crisis of the protestant religion. 1685.

For some years the priests were every where making conversions in France. The hopes of pensions and preferment wrought on many. The plausible colours that the bishop of Meaux, then bishop of Condom, put on all the errors of the church of Rome, furnished others with excuses for changing. Many thought, they must change at last, or be quite undone: for the king seemed to be engaged to go through with the matter, both in compliance with the shadow of conscience that he seemed to have, which was to follow implicitly the conduct of his confessor, and of the archbishop of Paris, he himself being ignorant in those matters beyond what can be well imagined; and because his glory seemed also concerned to go through with every thing that he had once begun.

Old Rouvigny, who was the deputy general of the churches, told me, that he was long deceived in his opinion of the king. He knew he was not naturally bloody. He saw his gross ignorance in those matters. His bigotry could not rise from any inward principle. So for many years he flattered himself with the hopes, that the design would go on so slowly, that some unlooked for accident might defeat it. But after the peace of Nimeguen he saw such steps made with so much

Rouvigny's
behaviour.

1685. precipitation, that he told the king he must beg a full audience of him upon that subject. He gave him one that lasted some hours. He came well prepared. He told him, what the state of France was during the wars in his father's reign; how happy France had been now for fifty years, occasioned chiefly by the quiet it was in with relation to those matters. He gave him an account of their numbers, their industry and wealth, their constant readiness to advance the revenue, and that all the quiet he had with the court of Rome was chiefly owing to them: if they were rooted out, the court of Rome would govern as absolutely in France, as it did in Spain. He desired leave to undeceive him, if he was made believe they would all change, as soon as he engaged his authority in the matter: many would go out of the kingdom, and carry their wealth and industry into other countries. And by a scheme of particulars he reckoned how far that would go. In 657 fine, he said, it would come to the shedding of much blood: many would suffer, and others would be precipitated into desperate courses. So that the most glorious of all reigns would be in conclusion disfigured and defaced, and become a scene of blood and horror. He told me, as he went through these matters the king seemed to hearken to him very attentively. But he perceived they made no impression: for the king never asked any particulars, or any explanation, but let him go on. And, when he had ended, the king said, he took his freedom well, since it flowed from his zeal to his service. He believed all that he had

told him, of the prejudice it might do him in his affairs: only he thought, it would not go to the shedding of blood. But he said, he considered himself as so indispensably bound to endeavour the conversion of all his subjects, and the extirpation of heresy, that if the doing it should require that with one hand he should cut off the other, he would submit to that. After this, Rouvigny gave all his friends hints of what they were to look for. Some were for flying out into a new civil war. But, their chief confidence being in the assistance they expected from England, he, who knew what our princes were, and had reason to believe that king Charles was at least a cold protestant, if not a secret papist, and knew that the States would not embroil their affairs in assisting them, their maxims rather leading them to connive at any thing that would bring great numbers and much wealth into their country than to oppose it, was against all motions of that kind. He reckoned, those risings would be soon crushed, and so would precipitate their ruin with some colour of justice. He was much censured for this by some hot men among them, as having betrayed them to the court. But he was very unjustly blamed, as appeared both by his own conduct, and by his son's; who was received at first into the survivance of being deputy general for the churches, and afterwards, at his father's desire, had that melancholy post given him, in which he daily saw new injustices done, and was only suffered, for form's sake, to inform against them, but with no hope of success.

1685.

He came
over to
England.

The father did, upon king Charles's death, write a letter of congratulation to the king, who wrote him such an obliging answer, that upon it he wrote to his niece the lady Russel, that, having such assurances given him by the king of a high
658 sense of his former services, he resolved to come over, and beg the restoring her son's honour. The marquis of Halifax did presently apprehend, that this was a blind, and that the king of France was sending him over to penetrate into the king's designs; since from all hands intimations were brought of the promises that he made to the ministers of the other princes of Europe. So I was ordered to use all endeavours to divert him from coming over: his niece had indeed begged that journey of him, when she hoped it might have saved her husband's life, but she would not venture to desire the journey on any other consideration, considering his great age, and that her son was then but five years old. I pressed this so much on him, that, finding him fixed in his resolution, I could not hinder my self from suspecting that such a high act of friendship, in a man some years past fourscore, had somewhat under it: and it was said, that, when he took leave of the king of France, he had an audience of two hours of him. But this was a false suggestion: and I was assured afterwards that he came over only in friendship to his niece, and that he had no directions nor messages from the court of France.

He came over, and had several audiences of the king, who used him with great kindness, but did not grant him that which he said he came for:

only he gave him a general promise of doing it in a proper time. 1685.

But whether the court of France was satisfied by the conversation that Rouvigny had with the king, that they needed apprehend nothing from England; or whether the king's being now so settled on the throne, made them conclude that the time was come of repealing the edicts, is not certain: Mr. de Louvoy, seeing the king so set on the matter, proposed to him a method, which he believed would shorten the work, and do it effectually: which was, to let loose some bodies of dragoons to live upon the protestants on discretionⁱ. They were put under no restraint, but only to avoid rapes, and the killing them. This was begun in Bearn. And the people were so struck with it, that, seeing they were to be eat up first, and, if that prevailed not, to be cast in prison, when all was taken from them, till they should change, and being required only to promise to reunite themselves to the church, they, overcome with fear, and having no time for consulting together, did universally comply. This did so animate the court, that upon it the same methods were taken in most places of Guienne, Languedoc, and Dauphine, where the greatest numbers of the protestants were. A dismal consternation and 659

ⁱ It has been said that Louvoy took the thought of this from some person who, in opposing other methods which were mentioned, said, (to shew the cruelty of them,) "that the king might as well let loose his dragoons upon the protestants;" to which Louvoy immediately replied, "Why should not that be done? it is the best thing for the purpose that has been spoken of;" and so went to the king with it, who approved of it. O.

1685. feebleness ran through most of them, so that great numbers yielded. Upon which the king, now resolved to go through with what had been long projected, published the edict repealing the edict of Nantes, in which (though that edict was declared to be a perpetual and irrevocable law) he set forth, that it was only intended to quiet matters by it, till more effectual ways should be taken for the conversion of heretics. He also promised in it, that, though all the public exercises of that religion were now suppressed, yet those of that persuasion who lived quietly should not be disturbed on that account, while at the same time not only the dragoons, but all the clergy, and the bigots of France, broke out into all the instances of rage and fury against such as did not change upon their being required in the king's name to be of his religion; for that was the style every where.

Many of
them yielded
through
fear.

Great
cruelty
every
where.

Men and women of all ages, who would not yield, were not only stript of all they had, but kept long from sleep, driven about from place to place, and hunted out of their retirements. The women were carried into nunneries, in many of which they were almost starved, whipped, and barbarously treated. Some few of the bishops, and of the secular clergy, to make the matter easier, drew formularies, importing that they were resolved to reunite themselves to the catholic church, and that they renounced the errors of Luther and Calvin. People in such extremities are easy to put a stretched sense on any words that may give them present relief. So it was

said, what harm was it to promise to be united to the catholic church: and the renouncing those men's errors did not renounce their good and sound doctrine. But it was very visible, with what intent those subscriptions or promises were asked of them: so their compliance in that matter was a plain equivocation. But, how weak and faulty soever they might be in this, it must be acknowledged, here was one of the most violent persecutions that is to be found in history. In many respects it exceeded them all, both in the several inventions of cruelty, and in its long continuance. I went over the greatest part of France while it was in its hottest rage, from Marseilles to Montpellier, and from thence to Lions, and so to Geneva. I saw and knew so many instances of their injustice and violence, that it exceeded even what could have been well imagined; for all men set their thoughts on work to invent new methods of cruelty. In all the towns through which I passed, I heard the most dismal accounts of those things possible; but chiefly at Valence, where 660 one Dherapine seemed to exceed even the furies of inquisitors. One in the streets could have known the new converts, as they were passing by them, by a cloudy dejection that appeared in their looks and deportment. Such as endeavoured to make their escape, and were seized, (for guards and secret agents were spread along the whole roads and frontier of France,) were, if men, condemned to the galleys, and, if women, to monasteries. To complete this cruelty, orders were given, that such of the new converts as did not at

1685. their death receive the sacrament, should be denied burial, and that their bodies should be left where other dead carcases were cast out, to be devoured by wolves or dogs. This was executed in several places with the utmost barbarity: and it gave all people so much horror, that, finding the ill effect of it, it was let fall. This hurt none, but struck all that saw it even with more horror than those sufferings that were more felt. The fury that appeared on this occasion did spread it self with a sort of contagion: for the intendants and other officers, that had been mild and gentle in the former parts of their life, seemed now to have laid aside the compassion of Christians, the breeding of gentlemen, and the common impressions of humanity. The greatest part of the clergy, the regulars especially, were so transported with the zeal that their king shewed on this occasion, that their sermons were full of the most inflamed eloquence that they could invent, magnifying their king in strains too indecent and blasphemous to be mentioned by me.

I went into
Italy.

I stayed at Paris till the beginning of August. Barrillon sent to me to look to my self; for the king had let some words fall importing his suspicion of me, as concerned in the duke of Monmouth's business. Whether this was done on design, to see if such an insinuation could fright me away, and so bring me under some appearance of guilt, I cannot tell: for in that time every thing was deceitfully managed. But I, who knew that I was not so much as guilty of concealment, resolved not to stir from Paris till the rebellion was

over, and that the prisoners were examined and 1685.
 tried. When that was done, Stoupe^k, a brigadier general, told me, that Mr. de Louvoy had said to him, that the king was resolved to put an end to the business of the Huguenots that season: and since he was resolved not to change, he advised him to make a tour into Italy, that he might not seem to do any thing that opposed the king's service. Stoupe told me this in confidence. So we resolved to make that journey together. Some 661 thought it was too bold an adventure in me, after what I had written and acted in the matters of religion, to go to Rome. But others, who judged better, thought I ran no hazard in going thither: for, besides the high civility with which all strangers are treated there, they were at that time in such hopes of gaining England, that it was not reasonable to think, that they would raise the apprehensions of the nation, by using any that belonged to it ill: and the destroying me would not do them the service that could in any sort balance the prejudice that might arise from the noise it would make. And indeed I met with so high a civility at Rome, that it fully justified this opinion.

Pope Innocent the eleventh, Odescalchi, knew who I was the day after I came to Rome. And he ordered the captain of the Swiss guards to tell Stoupe, that he had heard of me, and would give me a private audience abed, to save me from the

And was well received at Rome.

^k (Of whom the bishop has said a good deal, but what is little in his favour, in vol. I. p. 65, &c. folio edit. of his History.)

1685. ceremony of the pantoufle¹. But I knew the noise that this would make: so I resolved to avoid it, and excused it upon my speaking Italian so ill as I did. But cardinal Howard and the cardinal d'Estrees treated me with great freedom. The latter talked much with me concerning the orders in our church, to know whether they had been brought down to us by men truly ordained, or not: for, he said, they apprehended things would be much more easily brought about, if our orders could be esteemed valid, though given in heresy and schism. I told him, I was glad they were possessed with any opinion that made the reconciliation more difficult^m; but, as for the matter of fact, nothing was more certain, than that the ordinations in the beginning of queen Elizabeth's reign were canonical and regular. He seemed to be persuaded of the truth of this, but lamented that it was impossible to bring the Romans to think so.

Cardinal
Howard's
freedom
with me.

Cardinal Howard shewed me all his letters from England, by which I saw, that those who wrote to him reckoned that their designs were so well

¹ Burnet, in the year 1677, published a book in vindication of the ordinations of the church of England, in which is this passage, p. 62. "Yet as we acknowledge the church of Rome holds still the fundamentals of the Christian religion; so we confess she retains the essentials of ordination." Which, no doubt, was understood to be a fair advance towards a reconcilia-

tion with the church of Rome, fundamentals and essentials being granted. D. (All sound divines of the church of England confess as much. But they at the same time recollect, what, and how much, the church of Rome has added to scriptural fundamentals.)

^m (God may in his good time remove the obstacles, which caused the author's dislike to a reconciliation.)

laid, that they could not miscarry. They thought, 1685.
they should certainly carry every thing in the
next session of parliament. There was a high
strain of insolence in their letters; and they
reckoned, they were so sure of the king, that
they seemed to have no doubt left of their suc-
ceeding in the reduction of England. The Romans
and Italians were much troubled at all this: for
they were under such apprehensions of the growth
of the French power, and had conceived such
hopes of the king of England's putting a stop to
it, that they were sorry to see the king engage 662
himself so in the design of changing the religion
of his subjects, which they thought would create
him so much trouble at home, that he would
neither have leisure or strength to look after the
common concerns of Europe. The cardinal told
me, that all the advices writ over from thence
to England were for slow, calm, and moderate
courses. He said, he wished he was at liberty to
shew me the copies of them: but he saw violent
courses were more acceptable, and would probably
be followed. And he added, that these were the
production of England, far different from the
counsels of Rome.

He also told me, that they had not instruments
enough to work with: for though they were send-
ing over all that were capable of the mission, yet
he expected no great matters from them. Few
of them spoke true English. They came over
young, and retained all the English that they
brought over with them, which was only the lan-
guage of boys: but, their education being among

1685. strangers, they had formed themselves so upon that model, that really they preached as Frenchmen or Italians in English words; of which he was every day warning them, for he knew this could have no good effect in England. He also spoke with great sense of the proceedings in France, which he apprehended would have very ill consequences in England. I shall only add one other particular, which will shew the soft temper of that good natured man.

He used me in such a manner, that it was much observed by many others. So two French gentlemen desired a note from me to introduce them to him. Their design was to be furnished with reliques; for he was then the cardinal that looked after that matter. One evening I came in to him as he was very busy in giving them some reliques. So I was called in to see them: and I whispered to him in English, that it was somewhat odd, that a priest of the church of England should be at Rome helping them off with the ware of Babylon. He was so pleased with this, that he repeated it to the others in French; and told the Frenchmen, that they should tell their countrymen, how bold the heretics and how mild the cardinals were at Romeⁿ.

I stayed in Rome till prince Borghese came to me, and told me it was time for me to go. I had got great acquaintance there. And, though I did not provoke any to discourse of points of controversy, yet I defended my self against all those

ⁿ Did our author understand this in a soft sense towards himself? O.

who attacked me, with the same freedom that I 1685.
 had done in other places. This began to be taken 663
 notice of. So upon the first intimation I came
 away, and returned by Marseilles. And then I
 went through those southern provinces of France,
 that were at that time a scene of barbarity and
 cruelty.

I intended to have gone to Orange: but Tessè Cruelties in
 with a body of dragoons was then quartered over Orange.
 that small principality, and was treating the pro-
 testants there in the same manner that the French
 subjects were treated in other parts. So I went
 not in, but passed near it, and had this account of
 that matter from some that were the most con-
 siderable men of the principality. Many of the
 neighbouring places fled thither from the persecu-
 tion: upon which a letter was writ to the govern-
 ment there, in the name of the king of France,
 requiring them to put all his subjects out of their
 territory. This was hard. Yet they were too
 naked and exposed to dispute any thing with
 those who could command every thing. So they
 ordered all the French to withdraw: upon which
 Tessè, who commanded in those parts, wrote to
 them, that the king would be well satisfied with
 the obedience they had given his orders. They
 upon this were quiet, and thought there was no
 danger. But the next morning Tessè marched
 his dragoons into the town, and let them loose
 upon them, as he had done upon the subjects of
 France. And they plied as feebly as most of the
 French had done. This was done while that
 principality was in the possession of the prince of

1685. Orange, pursuant to an article of the treaty of Nimeguen, of which the king of England was the guarantee. Whether the French had the king's consent to this, or if they presumed upon it, was not known. It is certain, he ordered two memorials to be given in at that court, complaining of it in very high terms. But nothing followed on it. And, some months after, the king of France did unite Orange to the rest of Provence, and suppressed all the rights it had, as a distinct principality. The king writ upon it to the princess of Orange, that he could do no more in that matter, unless he would make war upon it; which he could not think fit for a thing of such small importance.

Another
session of
parliament.

But now the session of parliament drew on. And there was a great expectation of the issue of it. For some weeks before it met, there was such a number of refugees coming over every day, who set about a most dismal recital of the persecution in France, and that in many instances that were crying and odious, that, though all endeavours
664 were used to lessen the clamour this had raised, yet the king did not stick openly to condemn it, as both unchristian and unpolitic. He took pains to clear the Jesuits of it, and laid the blame of it chiefly on the king, on madame de Maintenon, and the archbishop of Paris. He spoke often of it with such vehemence, that there seemed to be an affectation in it. He did more. He was very kind to the refugees. He was liberal to many of them. He ordered a brief for a charitable collection over the nation for them all: upon which

great sums were sent in. They were deposited in good hands, and well distributed. The king also ordered them to be denised without paying fees, and gave them great immunities. So that in all there came over, first and last, between forty and fifty thousand of that nation. Here was such a real argument of the cruel and persecuting spirit of popery, wheresoever it prevailed, that few could resist this conviction. So that all men confessed, that the French persecution came very seasonably to awaken the nation, and open men's eyes in so critical a conjuncture: for upon this session of parliament all did depend. 1685.

When it was opened, the king told them how happy his forces had been in reducing a dangerous rebellion, in which it had appeared, how weak and insignificant the militia was: and therefore he saw the necessity of keeping up an army for all their security. He had put some in commission, of whose loyalty he was well assured: and they had served him so well, that he would not put that affront on them, and on himself, to turn them out. He told them, all the world saw, and they had felt the happiness of a good understanding between him and his parliament: so he hoped, nothing should be done on their part to interrupt that; as he, on his own part, would observe all that he had promised.

The king's
speech a-
gainst the
test.

Thus he fell upon the two most unacceptable points that he could have found out; which were, a standing army, and a violation of the act of the test. There were some debates in the house of lords about thanking the king for his speech. It

1685. was pressed by the courtiers, as a piece of respect
 ——— that was always paid. To this some answered,
 that was done when there were gracious assurances
 given. Only the earl of Devonshire said, he was
 for giving thanks, because the king had spoken
 out so plainly, and warned them of what they
 might look for^o. It was carried in the house to
 665 make an address of thanks for the speech. The
 lord Guilford, North, was now dead. He was a
 crafty and designing man. He had no mind to
 part with the great seal: and yet he saw, he could
 not hold it without an entire compliance with the
 pleasure of the court. An appeal against a decree
 of his had been brought before the lords in the
 former session^p: and it was not only reversed with
 many severe reflections on him that made it, but
 the earl of Nottingham, who hated him because
 he had endeavoured to detract from his father's
 memory, had got together so many instances of
 his ill administration of justice, that he exposed
 him severely for it. And, it was believed, that
 gave the crisis to the uneasiness and distraction of
 mind he was labouring under. He languished for
 some time; and died despised and ill thought of
 by the whole nation^q.

^o (Kennet as well as Rapin attributes this seasonable and sharp speech to the marquis of Halifax, whose vein of humour it corresponds with.)

^p There were not two sessions; the second meeting was upon an adjournment. O.

^q (According to his brother's account, in his *Life of the Lord Keeper*, he delayed

resigning his office from regard to the king's service, notwithstanding the affronts he received from his court enemies, Sunderland and Jeffries: but at length, the melancholy he had contracted, want of health, and the uneasiness he felt at the then state of affairs, obliged him to give it up. In an audience with the king, he

Nothing but his successor made him be re- 1685.
 membered with regret: for Jefferies had the seals. Jefferies
made lord
chancellor.
 He had been made a peer while he was chief
 justice, which had not been done for some ages:
 but he affected to be an original in every thing^r.
 A day or two after the session was opened, the
 lords went upon the consideration of the king's

honestly advised his majesty to avoid giving occasion to the public discontent, and to place no reliance on an army, or confidence in the dissenters; reminding him, that although the duke of Monmouth was gone, yet there was still a prince of Orange remaining. His brother, the historian of the family, who had been the then queen's attorney general, and whose love of truth was the theme of the neighbourhood in which he resided, goes on to observe, that although the lord keeper actually made use of these very suggestions to the king, it was only to satisfy his own conscience; for "he knew the king's humour, "and that nothing that he "could say to him would take "place or sink with him. So "strong were his prejudices, "and so feeble his genius, "that he took none to have "any right understanding, "that were not in his measures, and that the counsel "given him to the contrary "was for policy of party more "than for friendship to him." p. 273. Mr. North acknowledges, that the lord keeper was much vilified both during his life and after his death;

yet says, that his justice was so exact, and course of life so unexceptionable, that the author of one of the vilest written libels in those times was reduced, for want of something worse, to the calling him *sly-boots*. He relates also, that some particular acts were alleged after his death, impeaching his conduct as lord keeper: to all which charges the author replies at full. See North's Life of the Lord Keeper Guilford, p. 271—284. Compare Ralph's Hist. of England, vol. I. pp. 707, 708, and a Note on Burnet above, p. 74. Sir John Dalrymple, more favourable to his memory than his late biographer, in his preface to the second volume of his Memoirs, remarks, that the lord Guilford is one of the very few virtuous characters, which are to be found in the history of the reign of Charles the Second.)

^r "He had been made a "peer while he was chief justice, which had not been "done for some ages: but he "affected to be an original in "every thing." This passage is not in the Autograph, but appears in the Transcript, having been written afterward.

1685. speech : and, when some began to make remarks upon it, they were told, that by giving thanks for the speech, they had precluded themselves from finding fault with any part of it. This was rejected with indignation, and put an end to that compliment of giving thanks for a speech when there was no special reason for it. The lords Halifax, Nottingham, and Mordaunt, were the chief arguers among the temporal lords. The bishop of London spoke often likewise : and twice or thrice he said, he spoke not only his own sense, but the sense of that whole bench. They said, the test was now the best fence they had for their religion : if they gave up so great a point, all the rest would soon follow : and if the king might by his authority supersede such a law, fortified with so many clauses, and above all with that of an incapacity, it was in vain to think of law any more : the government would become arbitrary and absolute. Jefferies began to argue in his rough manner : but he was soon taken down ; it appearing, that how furiously soever he raved on the bench, where he played the tyrant, yet where others might speak with him on equal terms, he was a very contemptible man : and he received as great a mortification, as such a brutal man as he was capable of.

The house
of commons
address the
king for ob-
serving the
law.

But as the scene lay in the house of commons, so the debates there were more important. A project was offered for making the militia more useful, in order to the disbanding the army. But, to oppose that, the court shewed, how great a danger we had lately escaped, and how much of

an ill leaven yet remained in the nation, so that it was necessary a force should be kept up. The court moved for a subsidy, the king having been at much extraordinary charge in reducing the late rebellion. Many, that were resolved to assert the business of the test with great firmness, thought, the voting of money first was the decentest way of managing the opposition to the court: whereas others opposed this, having often observed, that the voting of money was the giving up the whole session to the court. The court wrought on many weak men with this topic, that the only way to gain the king, and to dispose him to agree to them in the business of the test, was to begin with the supply. This had so great an effect, that it was carried only by one vote to consider the king's speech^s, before they should proceed to the supply. 1685.

^s That part of it which related to the dispensing power. See the Journal of the House of Commons, upon the division, when it was carried by one only against the court. The earl of Middleton of Scotland, then a secretary of state for England, and a member of the house of commons here, seeing many go out upon the division against the court, who were in the service of the government, went down to the bar, and as they were told in, reproached them to their faces for the voting as they did; and a captain Kendal being one of them, the earl said to him there, "Sir, have not you a troop of horse in his majesty's service?"

"Yes, my lord," says the other; "but my brother died last night, and has left me 700*l*. a year." This I had from my uncle, the first lord Onslow, who was then of the house of commons, and present. This incident upon one vote, very likely, saved the nation. O. (The preceding address to the king was carried *unanimously*, in which was the following clause, *And because the continuance of them (popish recusants) in their employment may be taken to be dispensing with that law (the test act) without an act of parliament, the consequence of which is of the greatest concern to the rights of all your majesty's dutiful and loyal subjects, and to*

1685. It was understood, that when they received satisfaction in other things, they were resolved to give 500,000*l*.

They went next to consider the act about the test, and the violations of it, with the king's speech upon that head. The reasoning was clear and full on the one hand. The court offered nothing on the other hand in the way of argument, but the danger of offending the king, and of raising a misunderstanding between him and them. So the whole house went in unanimously into a vote for an address to the king, that he would maintain the laws, in particular concerning the test. But with that they offered to pass a bill for indemnifying those who had broken that law; and were ready to have considered them in the supply that they intended to give.

The king was much offended with it.

The king expressed his resentments of this with much vehemence, when the address was brought to him. He said, some men intended to disturb the good correspondence that was between him and them, which would be a great prejudice to the nation: he had declared his mind so positively in that matter, that he hoped they would not have meddled with it^t: yet, he said, he would still ob-

all the laws made for the security of their religion; we therefore the knights, citizens, and burgesses of your majesty's house of commons, do most humbly beseech your majesty that you would be graciously pleased to give such direction thereon, that no apprehensions or jealousies may remain in the hearts of your majesty's good and faithful sub-

jects. Moreover, if the supply had been given beforehand, and the parliament had been immediately dissolved, and, as the speaker intimates, violent and illegal measures adopted by the king, yet the nation would have finally saved the nation.)

^t (The king's answer to the address was, 'I did not expect such an address from the house

serve all the promises that he had made. This 1685.
 made some reflect on the violations of the edict of
 Nantes by many of the late edicts that were set
 out in France before the last that repealed it, in
 which the king of France had always declared,
 that he would maintain that edict, even when the
 breaches made upon it were the most visible and 667
 notorious. The house, upon this rough answer,
 was in a high fermentation. Yet, when one Cook ^u
 said, that they were Englishmen, and were not to
 be threatened, because this seemed to be a want
 of respect, they sent him to the tower; and obliged
 him to ask pardon for those indecent words. But
 they resolved to insist on their address, and then
 to proceed upon the petitions concerning elections.
 And now those, that durst not open their mouth
 before, spoke with much force upon this head.
 They said, it was a point upon which the nation
 expected justice, and they had a right to claim it.
 And it was probable, they would have condemned
 a great many elections: for an intimation was set
 round, that all those who had stuck to the interest
 of the nation, in the main points then before them,
 should be chosen over again, though it should be
 found that their election was void, and that a new
 writ should go out. By this means those petitions
 were now encouraged, and were like to have a
 fair hearing, and a just decision: and it was be-

of commons, as I had so lately
 recommended to your con-
 sideration the great advantages
 a good understanding between
 us had produced in a very

short time, and given you
 warning of fears and jealousies
 amongst ourselves. I had, &c.')
^u (Mr. Coke, member for
 Derby.)

1685. lieved, that the abject courtiers would have been voted out^x.

The parliament was prorogued.

The king saw, that both houses were now so fixed, that he could carry nothing in either of them, unless he would depart from his speech, and let the act of the test take place. So he prorogued the parliament, and kept it by repeated prorogations still on foot for about a year and a half, but without holding a session. All those, who had either spoken or voted for the test, were soon after this disgraced, and turned out of their places, though many of these had served the king hitherto with great obsequiousness and much zeal. He called for many of them, and spoke to them very earnestly upon that subject in his closet: upon which the term of closeting was much tossed about. Many of these gave him very flat and hardy denials: others, though more silent, yet were no less steady. So that, when, after a long practice, both of threatening and ill usage on the one hand, and of promises and corruption on the other, the king saw he could not bring them into a compliance with him, he at last dissolved the parliament: by which he threw off a body of men that were in all other respects sure to him, and that would have accepted a very moderate satis-

^x (Lord Lonsdale, who himself moved, that the house would name a committee, to consider of a mode of applying to the king for a remedy against this iniquity, observes, in his privately printed Memoir, p. 7, that if the debate

had ever been resumed, probably something considerable would have been done in the affair, the house seeming so well inclined and so zealous in it. Ralph errs in this point. See p. 909 of his Hist.)

faction from him at any time. And indeed in all 1685.
 England it would not have been easy to have
 found five hundred men, so weak, so poor, and so
 devoted to the court, as these were^y. So happily
 was the nation taken out of their hands, by the
 precipitated violence of a bigoted court^z.

Soon after the prorogation, the lord de la Meer 668
 was brought to his trial. Some witnesses swore The lord
 de la Meer
 tried, and
 acquitted.
 high treason against him only upon report, that
 he had designed to make a rebellion in Cheshire,
 and to join with the duke of Monmouth. But,
 since those swore only upon hearsay, that was no
 evidence in law. One witness swore home against

^y But see the first note in
 page 626. O. (Consider also
 the account of the proceedings
 of the parliament here given
 by the bishop himself; but he
 is perhaps well founded in his
 opinion that this parliament
 would have accepted satisfac-
 tion for the past, and securi-
 ties in future, from their sove-
 reign; yet this would not have
 suited the views of either Eng-
 lish or foreign politicians.)

^z (During the sitting of this
 parliament the loyal duke of
 Ormond wrote in these terms
 to his friend sir Robert South-
 well, who subsequently joined
 in the revolution. The letter
 is dated Aug. 29, and belonged
 to the collection of South-
 well papers purchased by Mr.
 Thorpe the bookseller in 1834.
 "Your last," the duke ob-
 serves, "requires, not only our
 thoughts but our prayers
 "to prevent the calamities

"threatened in this conjunc-
 "ture; the cloud methinks
 "spreads apace, and grows
 "dreadful, but I hope my
 "concern for my master, and
 "for the quiet and prosperity
 "of his reign and people, mag-
 "nifies the object to me be-
 "yond reality. Upon what
 "ground my fears rise in me
 "are not fit to be discoursed
 "of, but I hope to find a time,
 "when I wait upon the duke
 "of Beaufort." He appears
 to have known more than he
 chose to commit to paper.
 In the *Ellys Correspondence*,
 published by lord Dover, and
 dated Dec. 14, 1685, the duke
 is said to be very thoughtful
 and melancholy, vol. I. p. 207.
 He died in 1688 a little before
 the revolution, after having
 opposed the introduction of
 a Roman catholic into the
 Charter House by virtue of
 the dispensing power.)

1685. him, and against two other gentlemen, who, as he said, were in company with him; and that treasonable messages were then given to him by them all to carry to some others. That which gave the greatest credit to the evidence was, that this lord had gone from London secretly to Cheshire at the time of the duke of Monmouth's landing, and that after he had stayed a day or two in that country, he had come up as secretly to London. This looked suspicious, and made it to be believed, that he went to try what could be done. The credit of that single witness was overthrown by many unquestionable proofs, by which it appeared that the two gentlemen, who he said met with that lord in Cheshire, were all that while still in London. The witness, to gain the more credit, had brought others into the plot, by the common fate of false swearers, who bring in such circumstances to support their evidence, as they think will make it more credible, but, being ill laid, give a handle to those concerned to find out their falsehood. And that was the case of this witness: for, though little doubt was made of the truth of that which he swore against this lord, as to the main of his evidence, yet he had added such a mixture of falsehood to it, as being fully proved destroyed the evidence. As for the secret journey to and again between London and Cheshire, that lord said, he had been long a prisoner in the tower upon bare suspicion: he had no mind to be lodged again there: so he resolved in that time of jealousy to go out of the way: and hearing that a child, of which he was very fond, was sick in

Cheshire, he went thither : and hearing from his lady that his eldest son was very ill at London, he made haste back again. This was well proved by his physicians and domestics, though it was a thing of very ill appearance, that he made such journeys so quick and so secretly at such a time. The solicitor general, Finch, pursuant to the doctrine he had maintained in former trials, and perhaps to atone for the zeal he had shewed in the house of commons for maintaining the act of the test, made a violent declamation, to prove that one witness with presumptions was sufficient to convict one of high treason^a. The peers did unanimously acquit the lord. So that trial ended to 669 the great joy of the whole town ; which was now turned to be as much against the court, as it had been of late years for it. Finch had been continued in his employment only to lay the load of this judgment upon him : and he acted his part in it with his usual vehemence^b. He was presently after turned out. And Powis succeeded him, who was a compliant young aspiring lawyer, though in himself he was no ill natured man^c. Now the posts in the law began to be again taken care of : for it was resolved to act a piece of pageantry in Westminster-hall, with which the next year began.

1685.

Sir Edward Hales, a gentleman of a noble family in Kent, declared himself a papist, though

1686.

A trial upon the

^a Jefferies was high steward shewn before. O.

upon this trial, and behaved ^b But see the trial. O.

himself with a decency and ^c Sir Thomas Powis, a good
a dignity, that he had never dull lawyer. S.

1686. he had long disguised it: and had once to my self so solemnly denied it, that I was led from thence to see, there was no credit to be given to that sort of men, where their church or religion was concerned. He had an employment: and not taking the test, his coachman was set up to inform against him, and to claim the 500*l.* that the law gave to the informer. When this was to be brought to trial, the judges were secretly asked their opinions: and such as were not clear to judge as the court did direct were turned out: and upon two or three canvassings the half of them were dismissed, and others of more pliable and obedient understandings were put in their places. Some of these were weak and ignorant to a scandal. The suit went on in a feeble prosecution: and in Trinity term judgment was given.

act for the
test.

Many
judges
turned out.

Herbert,
chief justice, gives
judgment
for the
king's dis-
pensing
power.

There was a new chief justice found out, very different indeed from Jefferies, sir Edward Herbert. He was a well bred and a virtuous man, generous, and good natured. He was but an indifferent lawyer; and had gone to Ireland to find practice and preferment there. He unhappily got into a set of very high notions with relation to the king's prerogative. His gravity and virtues gave him great advantages, chiefly his succeeding such a monster as had gone before him. So he, being found to be a fit tool, was, without any application of his own, raised up all at once to this high post^d. After the coachman's cause had

^d After the revolution he where he was created earl of made his escape into France, Portland, and lord chancellor,

been argued with a most indecent coldness, by 1686.
 those who were made use of on design to expose
 and betray it, it was said, in favour of the prerogative,
 that the government of England was entirely in the king:
 that the crown was an imperial **670**
 crown, the importance of which was, that it was
 absolute: all penal laws were powers lodged in
 the crown to enable the king to force the execution
 of the law, but were not bars to limit or bind up
 the king's power: the king could pardon all offences
 against the law, and forgive the penalties: and why
 could not he as well dispense with them? Acts of
 parliament had been oft superseded: the judges
 had some times given directions in their charges
 at circuits to inquire after some acts of parliament
 no more: of which one late instance happened
 during the former reign: an act passed concerning
 the size of carts and waggons, with many penalties
 upon the transgressors: and yet, when it appeared
 that the model prescribed in the act was not
 practicable, the judges gave direction not to execute
 the act.

These were the arguments brought to support
 the king's dispensing power. In opposition to
 this it was said, though not at the bar, yet in the
 common discourse of the town, that if penalties
 did arise only by virtue of the king's proclamation,
 it was reasonable that the power of dispensing
 should be only in the king: but since the prerogative

by king James. His brother Arthur, created earl of Torrington by king William, had a grant of his estate, which he afterwards left to the earl of

Lincoln; and his library, which was esteemed a very valuable collection, especially for law books, to lord Harcourt. D.

1686. gative was both constituted and limited by law, and since penalties were imposed to force the observation of laws that were necessary for the public safety, it was an overturning the whole government, and the changing it from a legal into a despotic form, to say that laws, made and declared not to be capable of being dispensed with, where one of the penalties was an incapacity, which by a maxim of law cannot be taken away even by a pardon, should at the pleasure of the prince be dispensed with: a fine was also set by the act on offenders, but not given to the king, but to the informer, which thereby became his. So that the king could no more pardon that, than he can discharge the debts of the subjects, and take away property^c: laws of small consequence, when a visible error not observed in making them was afterwards found out, like that of the size of carts, might well be superseded: for the intention of the legislature being the good of the subject, that is always to be presumed for the repeal of an impracticable law. But it was not reasonable to infer from thence, that a law made for the security of the government, with the most effectual clauses that could be contrived, on design to force the
671 execution of it, even in bar to the power of the prerogative, should be made so precarious a thing, especially when it was so lately asserted with so much vigour by the representatives of the nation. It was said, that though this was now only applied to one statute, yet the same force of reason would hold to annul all our laws: and the penalty

^c Wrong reasoning. S.

being that which is the life of the law, the dispensing with penalties might soon be carried so far as to dissolve the whole government, and the security that the subjects had, which was only from the laws, or rather from the penalties, since laws without these were feeble things, which tied men only according to their own discretion. 1686.

Thus was this matter tossed about in the arguments with which all people's mouths were now filled. But judges, who are beforehand determined how to give their opinions, will not be much moved even by the strongest arguments. The ludicrous ones used on this occasion at the bar were rather a farce, fitter for a mock trial in a play, than such as became men of learning in so important a matter. Great expectations were raised, to hear with what arguments the judges would maintain the judgment that they should give. But they made nothing of it; and without any arguing gave judgment for the defendant, as if it had been in a cause of course.

Now the matter was as much settled, as a decision in the king's bench could settle it. Yet so little regard had the chief justice's nearest friends to his opinion in this particular, that his brother, admiral Herbert, being pressed by the king to promise that he would vote the repeal of the test, answered the king very plainly, that he could not do it either in honour or conscience^f. Admiral Herbert's firmness.

^f (Sir Edward Herbert, in 1688, immediately after the revolution, published a vindication of the judgment of the court in sir Edward Hales's case, and of the king's dispensing power. In the first year of king William the dispensing

1686. The king said, he knew he was a man of honour, but the rest of his life did not look like a man that had great regard to conscience^g. He answered boldly, he had his faults, but they were such, that other people, who talked more of conscience, were guilty of the like. He was indeed a man abandoned to luxury and vice. But, though he was poor, and had much to lose, having places to the value of 4000*l.* a year, he chose to lose them all rather than comply. This made much noise: for as he had a great reputation for his conduct in sea affairs, so he had been most passionately zealous in the king's service from his first setting out to that day. It appeared by this, that no past services would be considered, if men were not resolved to comply in every thing. The door was now opened. So all regard to the test was laid aside. And all men that intended to recommend themselves took employments and
672 accepted of this dispensing power. This was done even by some of those who continued still pro-

power was declared to be illegal, *as it had been assumed and exercised of late*. Compare what is said below, p. 780, 822, 823. But opposition to the repeal of the test act was not inconsistent with sir Edward Herbert's opinion in favour of the king's legal right to dispense with *penal* statutes.)

^g (The king's reply is differently represented in the *Life of King James II.* lately published; "His (admiral Herbert's) answer was, he could not do it in honour or con-

science; at which the king being more moved than ordinary, could not forbear telling him, that as for his honour he had little but what he owed to his bounty, and for his conscience, the putting away his wife to keep with more liberty other women, gave a true idea of its niceness." Vol. II. p. 204. The admiral seems in his answer, as it is reported by Burnet and others, to have alluded to his majesty's own misconduct.)

testants, though the far greater number of them continued to qualify themselves according to law. 1686.

Many of the papists, that were men of quiet or of fearful tempers, did not like these methods. They thought the priests went too fast, and the king was too eager in pursuing every thing that was suggested by them. One Petre, descended from a noble family^h, a man of no learning, nor any way famed for his virtue, but who made all up in boldness and zeal, was the Jesuit of them all that seemed animated with the most courage. He had, during the popish plot, been introduced to the king, and had suggested things that shewed him a resolute and undertaking man. Upon that the king looked on him as the fittest man to be set at the head of his counsels. So he was now considered as the person who of all others had the greatest credit. He applied himself most to the earl of Sunderland, and was for some time chiefly directed by himⁱ.

Father
Petre, a
Jesuit, in
high fa-
vour.

^h (That of the lord Petre. In her conversations with the nuns of Chaillot the queen said, "She never liked Petre, " that his violent counsels did " the king much harm, and " she believed he was a bad " man." Strickland's *Lives of the Queens of England*, vol. IX. p. 154. By the manner in which he is spoken of in a contemporary MS. containing reasons against repealing that act, he appears to have been generally disliked.)

ⁱ (It is a well known fact, that the queen opposed with the greatest earnestness the

introduction of Petre into the privy council. She observed, that Sunderland got it over her belly, using an Italian phrase, for getting the ascendancy over another. See *Impartial Reflections upon Dr. Burnet's Posthumous History*, 8vo. 1724, p. 103. See also *D'Orleans's Revolutions in England*, p. 304. Of Petre's intrigues with lord Sunderland, and the queen's opposition to them, an account is given by the king himself in his *Life*, lately published, vol. II. p. 131. It is there intimated, as well as by sir James

1686. The maxim that the king set up, and about

The king
declared for
a toleration.

which he entertained all that were about him, was, the great happiness of an universal toleration.

On this the king used to enlarge in a great variety of topics. He said, nothing was more reasonable, more Christian, and more politic: and he reflected much on the church of England for the severities with which dissenters had been treated. This, how true or just soever it might be, yet was strange doctrine in the mouth of a professed papist, and of a prince on whose account, and by whose direction, the church party had been, indeed but too obsequiously, pushed on to that rigour. But, since the church party could not be brought to comply with the design of the court, applications were now made to the dissenters: and all on a sudden the churchmen were disgraced, and the dissenters were in high favour. Chief justice Herbert went the western circuit after Jefferies's bloody one. And now all was grace and favour to them. Their former sufferings were much reflected on, and pitied. Every thing was offered that could alleviate their sufferings. Their teachers were now encouraged to set up their conventicles again, which had been discontinued, or held very secretly, for four or five years. Intimations were every where given, that the king would not have them or their meetings to be disturbed. Some of them began to grow insolent upon this shew of

Montgomery in his pamphlet, entitled, *Great Britain's just Complaint*, first published in the year 1692, that the king

was with difficulty prevailed on to admit Petre to a seat in the council. See p. 14.)

favour^k. But the wiser men among them saw 1686.
 through all this, and perceived the design of the 673
 papists was now, to set on the dissenters against
 the church, as much as they had formerly set the
 church against them: and therefore, though they
 returned to their conventicles, yet they had a just
 jealousy of the ill designs that lay hid under all
 this sudden and unexpected shew of grace and
 kindness: and they took care not to provoke the
 church party.

Many of the clergy acted now a part that made
 good amends for past errors. They began to
 preach generally against popery, which the dis-
 senters did not. They set themselves to study
 the points of controversy. And upon that there
 followed a great variety of small books, that were
 easily purchased, and soon read. They examined
 all the points of popery with a solidity of judg-
 ment, a clearness of arguing, a depth of learning,
 and a vivacity of writing, far beyond any thing
 that had before that time appeared in our lan-
 guage. The truth is, they were very unequally
 yoked: for, if they are justly to be reckoned
 among the best writers that have yet appeared on
 the protestant side, those they wrote against were
 certainly among the weakest that had ever ap-
 peared on the popish side^l. Their books were

The clergy
 managed
 the points
 of contro-
 versy with
 great zeal
 and suc-
 cess.

^k The whole body of them
 grew insolent, and complying
 to the king. S. (Burnet's ap-
 pears to be the truer repre-
 sentation. Consult Mr. Macau-
 lay's *History of England*, vol.
 II. p. 219—239.)

^l The Roman catholics, I

am told, do not think so at
 this day, and the protestant
 writers did not think so at the
 time of the dispute. "The
 " chief controversies between
 " the churches of England
 " and Rome have of late been
 " managed to best advantage

1686. poorly but insolently writ; and had no other learning in them, but what was taken out of some French writers, which they put into very bad English: so that a victory over them would have been but a mean performance.

This had a mighty effect on the whole nation: even those who could not search things to the bottom, yet were amazed at the great inequality that appeared in this engagement. The papists, who knew what service the bishop of Meaux's book had done in France, resolved to pursue the same method here in several treatises, which they entitled, *Papists represented and misrepresented*; to which such clear answers were writ, that what effect soever that artifice might have, where it was supported by the authority of a great king, and the terror of ill usage, and a dragoonade in conclusion, yet it succeeded so ill in England, that it gave occasion to inquire into the true opinions of that church, not as some artful writers had disguised them, but as they were laid down in the

" of both sides. I am confident all has been said for
 " popery, that can be said;
 " though I am not so well assured, that much more might
 " not have been said against
 " it, which has been spared
 " out of a regard to our common Christianity, and to religion in general, besides
 " the respect due to a great
 " and gracious prince. But
 " our adversaries have not
 " been wanting to their own
 " cause in this opportunity."
Preface to Historical Exami-

nation of the Authority of General Councils, by Mr. Jenkin,
 1688. " The truth is, we
 " ought to give that learned
 " man (Dr. Godden) his due.
 " He has said what was to be
 " said to excuse his church
 " from idolatry, and his performance shews, that he
 " wanted nothing but a better
 " cause to have acquitted himself to every one's satisfaction." *A Discourse concerning the Nature of Idolatry, by Mr. Wake.* Bowyer's MS. note on this History.

books that are of authority among them, such as 1686.
 the decisions of councils received among them,
 and their established offices, and as they are held
 at Rome, and in all those countries where popery
 prevails without any intermixture with heretics,
 or apprehension of them, as in Spain and Por-
 tugal. This was done in so authentical a man-
 ner, that popery it self was never so well under-
 stood by the nation, as it came to be upon this
 occasion.

The persons who both managed and directed this controversial war, were chiefly Tillotson, Stilling-
 fleet, Tennison, and Patrick. Next them were
 Sherlock, Williams, Claget, Gee, Aldrich, Atter-
 bury, Whitby, Hooper, and above all these Wake,
 who having been long in France, chaplain to the lord
 Preston, brought over with him many curious dis-
 coveries, that were both useful and surprising^m.
 Besides the chief writers of those books of con-
 troversy, there were many sermons preached and
 printed on those heads, that did very much edify
 the whole nation. And this matter was managed
 with that concert, that for the most part once a
 week some new book or sermon came out, which
 both instructed and animated those who read
 them. There were but very few proselytes gained
 to popery: and these were so inconsiderable, that
 they were rather a reproach than an honour to

The per-
sons who
were chiefly
engaged
in this.

^m (Besides some modern pieces, the bishop alludes to St. Chrysostom's Epistle to Cæsarius, Bigot's edition of which had been suppressed by the Romanists, and was now reprinted by Wake. In the enumeration of the writers engaged in what is called the Popish Controversy, Burnet omits his old antagonist, the learned Henry Wharton.)

1686. them. Walker, the head of University college, and five or six more at Oxford, declared themselves to be of that religion; but with this brand of infamy, that they had continued for several years complying with the doctrine and worship of the church of England after they were reconciled to the church of Rome. The popish priests were enraged at this opposition made by the clergy, when they saw their religion so exposed, and themselves so much despised. They said, it was ill manners and want of duty to treat the king's religion with so much contempt.

Dr. Sharp
in trouble.

It was resolved to proceed severely against some of the preachers, and to try if by that means they might intimidate the rest. Dr. Sharp was the rector of St. Giles's, (and dean of Norwich,) and was both a very pious man, and one of the most popular preachers of the age, who had a peculiar talent of reading his sermons with much life and zealⁿ. He received one day as he was coming out of the pulpit, a paper sent him, as he believed, by a priest, containing a sort of challenge upon some points of controversy touched by him in some of his sermons. Upon this, he, not knowing to

ⁿ He was a great reader of Shakespear. Doctor Mangey, who had married his daughter, told me that he used to recommend to young divines the reading of the scriptures and Shakespear. And doctor Lisle, bishop of Norwich, who had been chaplain at Lambeth to archbishop Wake, told me that it was often related there, that Sharp should say, that

the Bible and Shakespear made him archbishop of York. His wonderful knowledge of human nature, the dignity and nobleness of his sentiments, and the amazing force and brightness of his expression, do indeed make Shakespear to be a great pattern for the gravest and most solemn compositions. O.

whom he should send an answer, preached a sermon in answer to it: and, after he had confuted it, he concluded, shewing how unreasonable it was for any to change their religion on such grounds. This was carried to court, and represented there as a reflection on the king for changing on those grounds. 1686.

The information, as to the words pretended to be spoken by Sharp, was false, as he himself assured me. But, without inquiring into that, the earl of Sunderland sent an order to the bishop of London, in the king's name, requiring him to suspend Sharp immediately, and then to examine the matter. The bishop answered, that he had no power to proceed in such a summary way: but, if an accusation were brought into his court in a regular way, he would proceed to such a censure as could be warranted by the ecclesiastical law: yet, he said, he would do that which was in his power, and should be upon the matter a suspension; for he desired Sharp to abstain from officiating, till the matter should be better understood. But to lay such a censure on a clergyman, as a suspension, without proof, in a judiciary proceeding, was contrary both to law and justice. Sharp went to court, to shew the notes of his sermon, which he was ready to swear were those from which he had read it, by which the falsehood of the information would appear°. But, since he

675
The bishop
of London
required to
suspend
him.

Which he
could not
obey.

° (In the Life of Sharp, written by his son, the fact of his going to court is denied. On the expression of his regret, that the king had been offended, he was permitted to resume his functions. See vol. I. p. 75. Dr. Lingard, in his History of England, vol. X. c. 2. p. 211, states, that " Dr.

1686. was not suspended, he was not admitted. Yet he was let alone. And it was resolved to proceed against the bishop of London for contempt.

An ecclesiastical commission set up.

Jefferies was much sunk at court, and Herbert was the most in favour. But now Jefferies, to recommend himself, offered a bold and illegal advice, for setting up an ecclesiastical commission, without calling it the high commission, pretending it was only a standing court of delegates. The act that put down the high commission in the year 1640, had provided by a clause, as full as could be conceived, that no court should be ever set up for those matters, besides the ordinary ecclesiastical courts. Yet, in contempt of that, a court was erected, with full power to proceed in a summary and arbitrary way in all ecclesiastical matters, without limitations to any rule of law in their proceedings. This stretch of the supremacy, so contrary to law, was assumed by a king, whose religion made him condemn all that supremacy that the law had vested in the crown.

The persons with whom this power was lodged were the archbishop of Canterbury, and the bishops of Duresme and Rochester, and the lord chancellor, the lord treasurer, and lord chief justice, the lord chancellor being made president in the court, *sine quo non*; for they would trust this to no other management. The bishop of London was marked out to be the first sacrifice. Sancroft lay silent at

“ Sharp had preached a sermon, animadverting in no very measured terms on the motives of the new converts to the Church of Rome.”

Although he appears to have found fault with the reasons assigned for the change, he did not impute interested motives to those who made it.)

Lambeth: he seemed zealous against popery in private discourse: but he was of such a timorous temper, and so set on the enriching his nephew, that he shewed no sort of courage^p. He would not go to this court, when it was first opened, and declare against it, and give his reasons why he could not sit and act in it, judging it to be against law: but he contented himself with not going to it^q. The other two bishops were more compliant. Duresme was lifted up with it, and said, now his name would be recorded in history: and, when some of his friends represented to him the danger of acting in a court so illegally constituted, he said, he could not live if he should lose the king's gracious smiles: so low and so fawning was he. [He was in all respects an ignorant, worthless, vain and abject man, without any one good quality.] Dolben, archbishop of York, died this year. So, as Sprat had succeeded him in Rochester, he had some hopes let fall of succeeding likewise in York. But the court had laid it down for a maxim to keep all the great sees, that should become vacant, still empty, till they might fill them to their own mind: so he was mistaken in his expectations, if he ever had them.

^p False as hell. S. This reflection might well have been spared, upon a man that gave sufficient proof, at the revolution, that he could quit the highest preferment, rather than comply with any thing contrary to his conscience: especially from the most interested, confident, busy man, that ever his nation produced. D.

(See the aspersions cast by Burnet on the good archbishop's character ably refuted in Dr. D'Oyly's *Life of the latter*; vol. I. p. 222—229.)

^q (The archbishop sent a regular and formal petition to the king to be excused attendance on this commission, on account of his age and infirmities.)

1686.

The bishop
of London
brought be-
fore it.

The bishop of London was the first person that was summoned to appear before this new court. He was attended on by many persons of great quality, which gave a new offence: and the lord chancellor treated him in that brutal way, that was now become as it were natural to him. The bishop said, here was a new court, of which he knew nothing: so he desired a copy of the commission that authorized them. And, after he had drawn out the matters by delays for some time, hoping that the king might accept of some general and respectful submission, and so let the matter fall, at last he came to make his defence, all secret methods to divert the storm proving ineffectual. The first part of it was an exception to the authority of the court, as being not only founded on no law, but contrary to the express words of the act of parliament that put down the high commission. Yet this point was rather insinuated, than urged with the force that might have been used: for it was said, that, if the bishop should insist too much on that, it would draw a much heavier measure of indignation on him; therefore it was rather opened, and modestly represented to the court, than strongly argued. But it may be easily believed, that those who sat by virtue of this illegal commission would maintain their own authority. The other part of the bishop of London's plea was, that he had obeyed the king's orders, as far as he legally could do; for he had obliged Dr. Sharp to act as a man that was suspended; but that he could not lay an
677 ecclesiastical censure on any of his clergy without

a process, and articles, and some proof brought. 1686.
This was justified by the constant practice of the ecclesiastical courts, and by the judgment of all lawyers. But arguments, how strong soever, are feeble things, when a sentence is resolved on before the cause is heard. So it was proposed that he should be suspended during the king's pleasure. The lord chancellor and the poor-spirited bishop of Duresme were for this: but the earl, and bishop of Rochester, and the lord chief justice Herbert, were for acquitting him. There was not so much as a colour of law to support the sentence: so none could be given.

But the king was resolved to carry this point, and spoke roundly about it to the earl of Rochester. He saw he must either concur in the sentence, or part with the white staff. So he yielded. And the bishop was suspended *ab officio*. They did not think fit to meddle with his revenues. For the lawyers had settled that point, that benefices were of the nature of freeholds. So, if the sentence had gone to the temporalities, the bishop would have had the matter tried over again in the king's bench, where he was like to find good justice, Herbert not being satisfied with the legality and justice of the sentence. While this matter was in dependance, the princess of Orange thought it became her to interpose a little in the bishop's favour. He had confirmed and married her. So she wrote to the king, earnestly begging him to be gentle to the bishop, who she could not think would offend willingly. She also wrote to the bishop, expressing the great share she took in

And was suspended by it.

1686. the trouble he was fallen into. The prince wrote to him to the same purpose. The king wrote an answer to the princess, reflecting severely on the bishop, not without some sharpness on her for meddling in such matters. Yet the court seemed uneasy, when they saw they had gained so poor a victory: for now the bishop was more considered than ever. His clergy, for all the suspension, were really more governed by the secret intimations of his pleasure, than they had been by his authority before. So they resolved to come off as much as may be. Dr. Sharp was admitted to offer a general petition, importing how sorry he was to find himself under the king's displeasure: upon which he was dismissed with a gentle reprimand, and suffered to return to the exercise of his function. According to the form of the ecclesiastical courts, a person under such a suspension must make a
678 submission within six months: otherwise he may be proceeded against as obstinate. So, six months after the sentence, the bishop sent a petition to the king, desiring to be restored to the exercise of his episcopal function. But he made no acknowledgment of any fault. So this had no other effect, but that it stopped all further proceedings: only the suspension lay still on him. I have laid all this matter together, though the progress of it ran into the year eighty-seven.

Affairs in
Scotland.

Affairs in Scotland went on much at the same rate as they did in England. Some few proselytes were gained. But as they were very few, so they could do little service to the side to which they joined themselves. The earl of Perth prevailed

with his lady, as she was dying, to change her religion. And in a very few weeks after her death he married very indecently a sister of the duke of Gordon's; [with whom he had lived in a very scandalous manner for several years.] They were first cousins: and yet without staying for a dispensation from Rome, they ventured on a marriage, upon the assurances that they said their confessor gave them, that it would be easily obtained. But pope Innocent was a stiff man, and did not grant those things easily: so that cardinal Howard could not at first obtain it. The pope said, these were strange converts, that would venture on such a thing without first obtaining a dispensation. The cardinal pretended, that new converts did not so soon understand the laws of the church: but he laid before the pope the ill consequences of offending converts of such importance. So he prevailed at last, not without great difficulty. The earl of Perth set up a private chapel in the court for mass, which was not kept so private, but that many frequented it. 1686.

The town of Edinburgh was much alarmed at this. And the rabble broke in with such fury, that they defaced every thing in the chapel. And if the earl of Perth had not been conveyed away in disguise, he had very probably fallen a sacrifice to popular rage. The guards upon the alarm came, and dispersed the rabble. Some were taken: and one that was a ringleader in the tumult was executed for it. When he was at the place of execution, he told one of the ministers of the town, that was with him assisting him

A tumult at
Edinburgh.

1686. with his prayers, that he was offered his life, if he would accuse the duke of Queensborough, as the person that had set on the tumult, but he would not save his life by so false a calumny. Mr. Ma-com, the minister, was an honest but weak man. So, when the criminal charged him to make this

679 discovery, he did not call any of those who were present to bear witness of it: but in the simplicity of his heart he went from the execution to the archbishop of St Andrew's, and told him what had passed. The archbishop acquainted the duke of Queensborough with it. And he writ to court, and complained of it. The king ordered the matter to be examined. So the poor minister, having no witness to attest what the criminal had said to him, was declared the forger of that calumny. And upon that he was turned out. But how severely soever those in authority may handle a poor incautious man, yet the public is apt to judge true. And, in this case, as the minister's weakness and misfortune was pitied, so the earl of Perth's malice and treachery was as much detested.

A parliament held there.

In summer this year, the earl of Murray, another new convert, was sent the king's commissioner to hold a parliament in Scotland, and to try if it would be more compliant than the English parliament had been. The king did by his letter recommend to them in very earnest words the taking off all penal laws and tests relating to religion. And all possible methods were used to prevail on a majority. But two accidents happened before the opening the parlia-

ment, which made great impression on the minds of many. 1686.

Whitford, son to one of their bishops before the wars, had turned a papist. He was the person that killed Dorislaus in Holland. And, that he might get out of Cromwell's reach, he had gone into the duke of Savoy's service; and was there when the last massacre was committed on the Vaudois. He had committed many barbarous murders with his own hands, and had a small pension given him after the restoration. He died a few days before the parliament met; and called for some ministers, and to them declared his forsaking of popery, and his abhorrence of it for its cruelty. He said, he had been guilty of some execrable murders in Piedmont, both of women and children, which had pursued him with an intolerable horror of mind ever after that. He had gone to priests of all sorts, the strictest as well as the easiest: and they had justified him in what he had done, and had given him absolution. But his conscience pursued him so, that he died as in despair, crying out against that bloody religion.

The other was more solemn. Sir Robert Sibbald, a doctor of physic, and the most learned antiquary in Scotland, who had lived in a course of 680 philosophical virtue, but in great doubts as to revealed religion, was prevailed on by the earl of Perth to turn papist, in hope to find that certainty among them, which he could not arrive at upon his own principles. But he had no sooner done this, than he began to be ashamed that he had

1686. made such a step upon so little inquiry. So he went to London, and retired for some months from all company, and went into a deep course of study, by which he came to see into the errors of popery with so full a conviction, that he came down to Scotland some weeks before the parliament, and could not be at quiet till he had published his recantation openly in a church. The bishop of Edinburgh was so much a courtier, that, apprehending many might go to hear it, and that it might give offence at court, he sent him to do it in a church in the country. But the recantation of so learned a man, upon so much study, had a great effect upon many.

Rosse and Paterson, the two governing bishops, resolved to let the king see how compliant they would be. And they procured an address to be signed by several of their bench, offering to concur with the king in all that he desired with relation to those of his own religion, (for the courtly style now was not to name popery any other way than by calling it the king's religion,) provided the laws might still continue in force and be executed against the presbyterians. With this Paterson was sent up. He communicated the matter to the earl of Middleton, who advised him never to shew that paper: it would be made use of against them, and render them odious: and the king and all his priests were so sensible that it was an indecent thing for them to pretend to any special favour, that they were resolved to move for nothing but a general toleration. And so he persuaded him to go back without presenting it.

This was told me by one who had it from the earl 1686.
himself.

When the session of parliament was opened, ^{Which re-} duke Hamilton was silent in the debate. ^{fused to} He ^{comply} promised he would not oppose the motion: but he ^{with the} would not be active to promote it. The duke of ^{king's de-} Queensborough was also silent: but the king was ^{sires.} made believe that he managed the opposition under hand. Rosse and Paterson did so entirely forget what became their characters, that they used their utmost endeavours to persuade the parliament to comply with the king's desire. The archbishop of Glasgow opposed it, but fearfully. 681 The bishop of Dunkeld, Bruce, did it openly and resolutely: and so did the bishop of Galloway. The rest were silent, but were resolved to vote for the continuance of the laws. Such was the meanness of most of the nobility, and of the other members, that few did hope that a resistance to the court could be maintained. Yet the parliament would consent to nothing, further than to a suspension of those laws during the king's life. The king despised this. So the session was put off, and the parliament was quickly dissolved. And, soon after that, both the archbishop of Glasgow and the bishop of Dunkeld were turned out by an express command from the king. And Paterson was made archbishop of Glasgow. And one Hamilton, noted for profaneness and impiety, that sometimes broke out into blasphemy, was made bishop of Dunkeld. No reason was assigned for turning out those bishops, but the king's pleasure.

1686.

A zeal ap-
peared
there a-
gainst po-
pery.

The nation, which was become very corrupt, and both ignorant and insensible in the matters of religion, began now to return to its old zeal against popery. Few proselytes were made after this. The episcopal clergy were in many places so sunk into sloth and ignorance, that they were not capable of conducting this zeal. Some of them about Edenburgh, and in divers other places, began to mind those matters, and recovered some degrees of credit by the opposition they made to popery. But the presbyterians, though they were now freed from the great severities they had long smarted under, yet expressed on all occasions their unconquerable aversion to popery^r. So the court was soon convinced, that they were not to be depended on.

Affairs in
Ireland.

But, what opposition soever the king met with in the isle of Britain, things went on more to his mind in Ireland. The earl of Clarendon, upon his first coming over, gave public and positive assurances, that the king would maintain their act of settlement. This he did very often, and very solemnly; and proceeded accordingly. In the mean while the earl of Tirconnell went on more roundly. He not only put Irish papists in such posts in the army as became void, but upon the

^r Partial dog. S. ("It was repeatedly observed at the time, that while the churchmen, who were the only sufferers by this indulgence, were in their station vigilant and zealous against the threatening increase of popery, the presbyterians,

" though they knew this was the design at the bottom, were generally silent upon that delicate point, not choosing to give offence to those on whose account they had met with so much favour." *Skinner's Ecclesiastical History of Scotland*, vol. I. p. 510.

slightest pretences he broke the English protestant officers, to make room for the others: and in conclusion, without so much as pretending a colour for it, he turned them all out. And now an army, paid by virtue of the act of settlement to secure it, was wrested out of legal hands, and put in the hands of those who were engaged both in 1686. religion and interest to destroy the settlement, and those concerned in it; which was too gross a violation of law to be in any sort palliated. So the English protestants of Ireland looked on themselves as at mercy, since the army was now made up of their enemies. And all that the lord lieutenant or the lord chancellor could say did not quiet their fears: good words could not give security against such deeds as they saw every day. Upon this the earl of Clarendon and the earl of Tirconnell fell into perpetual jarrings, and were making such complaints one of another, that the king resolved to put an end to those disorders by recalling both the earl of Clarendon and Porter. He made the earl of Tirconnell lord lieutenant^s, and Fitton lord chancellor, who were both not only professed but zealous papists. Fitton knew no other law but the king's pleasure.

This struck all people there with great terror, when a man of Tirconnell's temper, so entirely trusted and depended on by the Irish, capable of the boldest undertakings, and of the cruelest execution, had now the government put so entirely in his hands. The papists of England either dissembled very artificially, or they were much

^s Lord deputy. S.

1686. troubled at this, which gave so great an alarm every where. It was visible, that father Petre and the Jesuits were resolved to engage the king so far, that matters should be put past all retreating and compounding; that so the king might think no more of governing by parliament, but by a military force; and, if that should not stick firm to him, by assistance from France, and by an Irish army^t.

^t ("It had been given in charge to Tyrconnel to raise the Irish to a decided superiority over the English interest, to the end that Ireland might offer a secure asylum to James and his friends, if by any subsequent revolution the king should be driven from the English throne; but the lord deputy had a further and more national object in view, to render his native country independent of England, if James should die without male issue, and the prince and princess of Orange should inherit the crown. For this purpose he employed the agency of Bonrepaus in England, and of Seignelay in France, to acquaint Louis XIV. with his intention, and to solicit his powerful aid. The French monarch, who looked on the prince of Orange as the most formidable of his enemies, received the overture with pleasure, and gave to Tyrconnel strong assurances of support; and it was mutually

agreed, that the project, and all the subsequent proceedings, should be carefully withheld, not only from the knowledge of Sunderland, to whom it was said that Tyrconnel was bound to pay the yearly sum of 4000*l.* out of his emoluments, but also from that of Barillon, whose intimacy with Sunderland exposed him to the suspicion of betraying every secret to that minister. For this information we are indebted to the industry of Mazure, who discovered it in the despatches of Bonrepaus. *Mazure*, II. 287. (Histoire de la Révolution, de 1688.)" "I am not, however, convinced of the accuracy of this information. It is difficult to reconcile it with the fact that James would never consent to Tyrconnel's favourite plan of repealing the Act of Settlement; and it is plain that the person who pretended to treat with him in the name of Tyrconnel could produce no authority or cre-

An accident happened at this time, that gave 1686.
 the queen great offence, and put the priests much
 out of countenance. The king continued to go The king
made his
mistress
countess of
Dorchester.
 still to Mrs. Sidley. And she gained so much on
 him, that at last she prevailed to be made countess
 of Dorchester. As soon as the queen heard of
 this, she gave order to bring all the priests, that
 were admitted to a particular confidence, into her
 closet. And, when she had them about her, she
 sent to desire the king to come and speak to her.
 When he came, he was surprised to see such a
 company about her, but much more when they
 fell all on their knees before him. And the queen
 broke out into a bitter mourning for this new
 honour, which they expected would be followed
 with the setting her up openly as mistress. The
 queen was then in an ill habit of body; and had
 an illness that, as was thought, would end in a
 consumption. And it was believed that her sick-683
 ness was of such a nature, that it gave a very
 melancholy presage, that, if she should live, she
 could have no children^u. The priests said to the

“dentials from that nobleman.”
 Lingard’s *History of England*,
 vol. X. ch. 3. p. 242. See
 however sir John Mackintosh’s
History of the Revolution, ch.
 4. p. 126—129, where it is
 added on the authority of the
 Sheridan MSS. that Tyrcon-
 nel was reported to have a-
 greed without the knowledge
 of his master to put four Irish
 seaports, Kinsale, Waterford,
 Limerick, and either Galway
 or Coleraine into the hands of
 France. The able Continuator

of this History referring to the
 above-mentioned Despatches
 of Bonrepaus, relates, that
 these intrigues coming to the
 knowledge of the prince of
 Orange, occasioned him to
 entertain great apprehensions
 on this head, and to fear that
 king James himself was in-
 clined to deprive his presump-
 tive successor of the crown of
 Ireland, ch. 13. p. 400.)

^u First insinuation against
 the birth of the king’s son.
Cole.

1686. king, that a blemish in his life blasted their designs : and the more it appeared, and the longer it was continued, the more ineffectual all their endeavours would prove. The king was much moved with this, and was out of countenance for what he had done. But, to quiet them all, he promised them, that he would see the lady no more ; and pretended, that he gave her this title in order to the breaking with her the more decently. And, when the queen did not seem to believe this, he promised that he would send her to Ireland, which was done accordingly. But, after a stay there for some months, she came over again ; and that ill commerce was still continued. The priests were no doubt the more apprehensive of this, because she was bold and lively, and was always treating them and their proceedings with great contempt^x.

The court was now much set on making of converts ; which failed in most instances, and produced repartees, that, whether true or false, were much repeated, and were heard with great satisfaction.

The earl of Mulgrave was lord chamberlain.

Attempts
made on

^x Her wit was rather surprising than pleasing, for there was no restraint in what she said of, or to, any body. She told king William's queen, who she observed looked coldly upon her, that if it was upon her father's account, she hoped she would remember that as she had broke one commandment with him, her majesty had made no scruple of breaking

another ; therefore thought they were very even upon his score. But most of her remarkable sayings were what nobody else would in modesty or discretion have said : the best excuse that could be made for her was, that her mother, lady Catherine Sidley, had been locked up in a madhouse many years before she died. D.

He was apt to comply in every thing that he 1686.
 thought might be acceptable; for he went with
 the king to mass, and kneeled at it. And, being ^{many to}
 looked on as indifferent to all religions, the priests ^{change}
^{their reli-}
^{gion.}
 made an attack on him. He heard them gravely
 arguing for transubstantiation. He told them, he
 was willing to receive instruction: he had taken
 much pains to bring himself to believe in God,
 who made the world and all men in it: but it
 must not be an ordinary force of argument, that
 could make him believe, that man was quits with
 God, and made God again.

The earl of Middleton had married into a popish
 family, and was a man of great parts and a generous
 temper, but of loose principles in religion. So a
 priest was sent to instruct him. He began with
 transubstantiation, of which he said he would con-
 vince him immediately: and began thus, You be-
 lieve the Trinity. Middleton stopt him, and said,
 Who told you so? at which he seemed amazed.
 So the earl said, he expected he should convince
 him of his belief, but not question him of his own.
 With this the priest was so disordered, that he
 could proceed no further. One day the king gave
 the duke of Norfolk the sword of state to carry
 before him to the chapel: and he stood at the 684
 door. Upon which the king said to him, My
 lord, your father would have gone further: to
 which the duke answered, Your majesty's father
 was the better man, and he would not have gone
 so far. Kirk was also spoken to, to change his
 religion; and replied briskly, that he was already
 pre-engaged, for he had promised the king of

1686. Morocco, that, if ever he changed his religion, he would turn Mahometan.

Particular-
ly on the
earl of Ro-
chester.

But the person that was the most considered, was the earl of Rochester. He told me, that upon the duke of Monmouth's defeat, the king did so immediately turn to other measures, that, though before that the king talked to him of all his affairs with great freedom, and commonly every morning of the business that was to be done that day, but the very day after his execution the king changed his method, and never talked more to him of any business, but what concerned the treasury: so that he saw he had now no more the root he formerly had. He was looked on as so much united to the clergy, that the papists were all set against him. He had, in a want of money, procured a considerable loan, by which he was kept in his post longer than was intended. At last, as he related the matter to me, the king spoke to him, and desired he would suffer himself to be instructed in religion. He answered, he was fully satisfied about his religion. But upon the king's pressing it, that he would hear his priests, he said, he desired them to have some of the English clergy present, to which the king consented: only he excepted to Tillotson and Stillingfleet. Lord Rochester said, he would take those who should happen to be in waiting; for the forms of the chapel were still kept up. And doctor Patrick and Jane were the men. Upon this a day was set for the conference.

But his enemies had another story. He had notice given him, that he would shortly lose the

white staff: upon which his lady, who was then 1686.
 sick, wrote to the queen, and begged she would
 honour her so far as to come, and let her have
 some discourse with her. The queen came, and
 stayed above two hours with her. She complained
 of the ill offices that were done them. The queen
 said, all the protestants were now turning against
 them, so that they knew not how they could trust
 any of them. Upon which that lady said, her
 lord was not so wedded to any opinion, as not to
 be ready to be better instructed. And it was
 said, that this gave the rise to the king's proposing
 a conference: for it has been observed to be a 685
 common method of making proselytes, with the
 more pomp, to propose a conference: but this was
 generally done, after they were well assured, that,
 let the conference go which way it might, the per-
 son's decision for whom it was appointed should
 be on their side. The earl denied he knew
 any thing of all this to me^y: for his lady died not
 long after^z. It was further said by his enemies,
 that the day before the conference he had an ad-
 vertisement from a sure hand, that nothing he
 could do would maintain him in his post, and
 that the king had engaged himself to put the

^y (So the Autograph and Transcript, for the first edition has *and* his lady. The meaning very obscure.)

^z (In the Life of king James II. lately published from the Stuart Papers, the attempt to convert lord Rochester is said to have been first suggested by lord Sunderland, who wished

to get rid of him; the method he took to execute this design of removing lord Rochester, "was to persuade the king, "that he had great disposi-
 "tions to change his religion;
 "and when once that was
 "done, he might be more
 "freely consulted with." Vol. I. p. 100.)

1686. treasury in commission, and to bring some of the popish lords into it. Patrick told me, that at the conference there was no occasion for them to say much.

The priests began the attack. And when they had done, the earl said, if they had nothing stronger to urge, he would not trouble those learned gentlemen to say any thing: for he was sure he could answer all that he had heard. And so answered it all with much heat and spirit, not without some scorn, saying, were these grounds to persuade men to change their religion? This he urged over and over again with great vehemence^z.

^z (According to the above-cited work, "Before any point was thoroughly handled, or so much almost as entered upon, he rose up abruptly, and said he was more confirmed in opinion than before; upon which the assembly broke up." This account cannot well be reconciled with that given by Dr. Lingard of lord Rochester's conduct on this occasion. See vol. X. of his History of England, ch. 2. p. 224, where it is stated, that at the king's request "the earl conversed in private with Dr. Leyburn on two subjects, the real doctrine of the Christian church during the first five centuries, and the necessity of an infallible authority in matters of faith: afterwards the question of the real presence was debated before him and the king without any attendants, by the doc-

tors Jane and Patrick on one side, and Leyburn and Godden on the other; and Rochester in conclusion observed, that the disputants 'had discoursed learnedly, and that he would attentively consider their arguments.' The king was disappointed; he complained to Barillon of the obstinacy and insincerity of the treasurer; and the latter received from the French envoy a very intelligible hint that the loss of office would result from his adhesion to his religious creed. (Note.) Barillon, 12th Dec. 9 Janv. While James complained on one side of his obstinacy, the zealous protestants complained on the other, 'that he remained so far in suspense as not to declare which side had the better.' *The true Patriot Vindicated*, p. 88." Dr. Lingard had pre-

The king, seeing in what temper he was, broke off 1686.
the conference, charging all that were present to
say nothing of it.

Soon after that he lost his white staff^a; but He was
turned out.
had a pension of 4000*l.* a year for his own life
and his son's, besides his grant upon the lord
Grey, and another valued at 20,000*l.* So here
were great regards had to him: no place having
ever been sold, even by a person in favour, to
such advantage. The sum that he had procured
to be lent the king being 400,000*l.* and it being
all ordered to go towards the repair of the fleet,
this began to be much talked of. The stores were
very ill furnished: and the vessels themselves were
in decay. But now orders were given, with great

viously suggested doubts concerning this nobleman's real attachment to the interests of the church of England. But his sacrifice of power and the emoluments of office ought to protect him from the suspicion of insincerity. If he was silent on the subject of the conference, it was in obedience to his sovereign's injunctions. In the *Autobiography of Bishop Patrick* published in the year 1838, after this note was written, an account of the conference is given, p. 106—120. On the whole it appears, that there is less reason to suspect Rochester's attachment to the church, than the disinterested adherence of his brother, the earl of Clarendon, to king James.)

^a He had disoblged the princess Ann, which did him

no service then, but turned much to his prejudice ever after. Her allowance was very small for keeping of a court, and they received nothing from Denmark, which occasioned her contracting a debt of ten thousand pounds, which was very uneasy to her. She desired lord Rochester to represent her case to the king, who excused himself by telling her she knew the king's temper in relation to money matters, and such a proposal might do him hurt, and her no good. Upon which she spoke to lord Godolphin, who undertook it very readily, and succeeded to her content, which proved of great advantage to him all the rest of his life. D. (Compare note at pag. 117. vol. II. folio edit. of Burnet's Hist.)

1686. despatch to put the whole fleet in condition to go to sea, though the king was then in full peace with all his neighbours. Such preparations seemed to be made upon some great design.

Designs
talked of
against
Holland.

The priests said every where, but chiefly at Rome, that the design was against the States: and that both France and England would make war on them all of the sudden; for it was generally known that the Dutch fleet was in no good condition. The interests of France and of the priests made this to be the more easily believed. The embroiling the king with the prince of Orange was that which the French desired above all other things, hoping that such a war, being 686 successful, might put the king on excluding the prince from the succession to the crown in the right of his wife, which was the thing that both the French and the priests desired most: for they saw that, unless the queen had a son, all their designs must stand still at present, and turn abortive in conclusion, as long as the nation had such a successor in view.

I stayed
some time
in Geneva.

This carries me now to open the state of affairs in Holland, and at the prince of Orange's court. I must first say somewhat of myself: for this summer, after I had rambled above a year, I came into Holland. I stayed three or four months in Geneva and Switzerland, after I came out of Italy. I stayed also some time among the Lutherans at Strasbourg and Franckfort, and among the Calvinists at Heidleberg, besides the further opportunities I had to know their way in Holland. I made it my business to observe all their methods,

and to know all the eminent men among them. I 1686.
saw the churches of France in their best state, while they were every day looking when this dreadful storm should break out, which has scattered them up and down the world. I was all the winter at Geneva, where we had constantly fresh stories brought us of the miseries of those who were suffering in France. Refugees were coming over every day, poor and naked, and half starved before they got thither. And that small state was under great apprehensions of being swallowed up, having no strength of their own, and being justly afraid that those at Bern would grow weary of defending them, if they should be vigorously attacked. The rest of Switzerland was not in such imminent danger. But, as they were full of refugees, and all sermons and discourses were much upon the persecution in France, so Basile was exposed in such manner, that the French could possess themselves of it when they pleased, without the least resistance. Those of Strasbourg, as they have already lost their liberty, so they were every day looking for some fatal edict, like that which the French had fallen under. The churches of the Palatinate, as they are now the frontier of the empire, exposed to be destroyed by every new war, so they are fallen into the hands of a bigoted family. All the other churches on the Rhine see how near they are to ruin. And as the United Provinces were a few years before this very near being swallowed up, so they were now well assured that two great kings designed to ruin them.

1686. Under so cloudy a prospect it should be ex-

687
The state
and temper
I observed
among the
reformed.

pected that a spirit of true devotion and of a real reformation should appear more, both among the clergy and laity; that they should all apprehend that God was highly offended with them, and was therefore punishing some, and threatening others, in a most unusual manner. It might have been expected, that those unhappy contests between Lutherans and Calvinists, Arminians and Anti-Arminians, with some minuter disputes that have inflamed Geneva and Switzerland, should have been at least suspended while they had a common enemy to deal with, against whom their whole force united was scarce able to stand. But these things were carried on rather with more eagerness and sharpness than ever. It is true, there has appeared much of a primitive charity towards the French refugees: they have been in all places well received, kindly treated, and bountifully supplied. Yet even among them there did not appear a spirit of piety and devotion suitable to their condition: though persons who have willingly suffered the loss of all things, and have forsaken their country, their houses, estates, and their friends, and some of them their nearest relations, rather than sin against their consciences, must be believed to have a deeper principle in them, than can well be observed by others.

I was indeed amazed at the labours and learning of the ministers among the reformed. They understood the scriptures well in the original tongues: they had all the points of controversy very ready, and did thoroughly understand the

whole body of divinity. In many places they 1686.
preached every day, and were almost constantly
employed in visiting their flock. They performed
their devotions but slightly, and read their pray-
ers, which were too long, with great precipitation
and little zeal. Their sermons were too long and
too dry. And they were so strict, even to jealousy,
in the smallest points in which they put ortho-
doxy, that one who could not go into all their
notions, but was resolved not to quarrel with
them, could not converse much with them with
any freedom. I spread many notions among some
of the younger sort, inclining them to more lati-
tude in point of opinion, and a greater strictness
in their lives and labours, which I have found
since have not been without good effects. I have,
upon all the observation that I have made, often
considered the inward state of the reformation,
and the decay of the vitals of Christianity in
it, as that which gives more melancholy im-
pressions, than all the outward dangers that sur-
round it.

In England things were much changed, with
relation to the court, in the compass of a year.
The terror all people were under from an ill
chosen and an ill constituted parliament was now 688
almost over: and the clergy were come to their
wits, and were beginning to recover their reputa-
tion. The nation was like to prove much firmer
than could have been expected, especially in so
short a time. Yet after all, though many were
like to prove themselves better protestants than
was looked for, they were not become much better

1686. Christians: and few were turning to a stricter course of life: nor were the clergy more diligent in their labours among their people, in which respect it must be confessed that the English clergy are the most remiss of any I ever saw^b. The curates in popery, besides their saying mass every day, their exactness to their breviary, their attending on confessions and the multiplicity of offices to which they are obliged, do so labour in instructing the youth and visiting the sick, that, in all the places in which I could observe them, it seemed to be the constant employment of their lives: and in the foreign churches, though the labours of the ministers may seem mean, yet they are perpetually in them. All these things lay so much on my thoughts, that I was resolved to retire into some private place, and to spend the rest of my life in a course of stricter piety and devotion, and in writing such books, as the state of matters with relation to religion should call for, whether in points of speculation or practice. All my friends advised my coming near England, that I might be easier sent to, and informed of all our affairs, and might accordingly employ my thoughts and time. So I came down the Rhine this summer, and was resolved to have settled in Groning or Frizeland.

I was invited by the prince of Orange to come to the Hague.

When I came to Utrecht I found letters writ to me by some of the prince of Orange's court, desiring me to come first to the Hague, and wait on the prince and princess, before I should settle any where. Upon my coming to the Hague, I

^b Civil that. S.

was admitted to wait on them. I found they had received such characters of me from England, that they resolved to treat me with great confidence: for at my first being with them, they entered into much free discourse with me concerning the affairs of England. The prince, though naturally cold and reserved, yet laid aside a great deal of that with me^c. He seemed highly dissatisfied with the king's conduct. He apprehended that he would give such jealousies of himself, and come under such jealousies from his people, that these would throw him into a French management, and engage him into such desperate designs as would force violent remedies. There was a gravity in his whole deportment that struck me. He seemed very regardless of himself, and not apt to suspect designs upon his person. But I had learned somewhat of the design of a brutal Savoyard, who was capable of the blackest things, and who for a foul murder had fled into the territory of Geneva, where he lay hid in a very worthy family, to whom he had done some services before. He had formed a scheme of seizing on the prince, who used to go in his chariot often on the sands near Scheveling with but one person with him, and a page or two on the chariot. So he offered to go in a small vessel of twenty guns, that should lie at some distance at sea, and to land in a boat with seven persons besides himself, and to seize on the prince, and bring him aboard, and so to France. This he wrote to Mr. de Louvoy, who upon that wrote to him to come to Paris, and ordered money for his

^c The same favour was shewn to Titus Oates. *Cole.*

1686. journey. He, being a talking man, spoke of this, and shewed Mr. de Louvoy's letter, and the copy of his own : and he went presently to Paris. This was brought me by Mr. Fatio, the celebrated mathematician, in whose father's house that person had lodged. When I told the prince this, and had Mr. Fatio at the Hague to attest it, he was not much moved at it. The princess was more apprehensive. And by her direction I acquainted Mr. Fagell, and some others of the States, with it, who were convinced that the thing was practicable. And so the States desired the prince to suffer himself to be constantly attended on by a guard when he went abroad ; with which he was not without some difficulty brought to comply. I fancied his belief of predestination made him more adventurous than was necessary. But he said as to that, he firmly believed a providence : for if he should let that go, all his religion would be much shaken : and he did not see, how providence could be certain, if all things did not arise out of the absolute will of God. I found those who had the charge of his education had taken more care to possess him with the Calvinistical notions of absolute decrees, than to guard him against the ill effects of those opinions in practice : for in Holland the main thing the ministers infuse into their people, is an abhorrence of the Arminian doctrine, which spreads so much there, that their jealousies of it make them look after that, more than after the most important matters.

The prince had been much neglected in his

education: for all his life long he hated constraint. 1686.

He spoke little. He put on some appearance of application: but he hated business of all sorts. Yet he hated talking, and all house games, more. This put him on a perpetual course of hunting, to which he seemed to give himself up, beyond any man I ever knew: but I looked on that always, as a flying from company and business. The de-
pression of France was the governing passion of his whole life. He had no vice, but of one sort, in which he was very cautious and secret^d. He had a way that was affable and obliging to the Dutch. But he could not bring himself to com-

A character
of the prince
and prin-
cess of
Orange.

^d Bishop Burnet told me, if I lived to read his History, I should be surprised to find he had taken notice of king William's vices; but some things, he said, were too notorious for a faithful historian to pass over in silence. D. In Nichols's *Literary Anecdotes*, vol. I. p. 252, it is stated, that the first editors of this History had directed parts of it, in which king William's character was more fully delineated, to be left out. The two passages now first edited from the bishop's autograph confirm this account. But let it be remembered, that they are also omitted in the Transcript, and that at present there appears no assignable cause, as there does in the case of the Suppressed Passages, for their omission by the first editors. Perhaps therefore it originated with the bishop, for reasons known to himself. After

the words "He hated constraint," line 2, above, follows this passage, "De Wit used to come to him every Monday, and give him a very particular instruction of all things relating to their government, which he said to myself was still of great use to him. He spoke several languages almost equally well with the language of the country, both English, French, and high Dutch; he also spoke Spanish, and understood Latin. He had an extraordinary memory and a sound judgment, which seldom erred in forming true characters of men." And after the words "of his whole life," line 9, follows "He was positive in his notions but not imperious, and though pre-judices stuck long and deep with him, yet he seemed to have no designs of revenge in his nature."

1686. ply enough with the temper of the English, his coldness and slowness being very contrary to the genius of the nation.

The princess possessed all that conversed with her with admiration. Her person was majestic, and created respect. She had great knowledge, with a true understanding, and a noble expression. There was a sweetness in her deportment that charmed, and an exactness in piety and of virtue that made her a pattern to all that saw her. The king gave her no appointments to support the dignity of a king's daughter. Nor did he send her any presents or jewels, which was thought a very indecent, and certainly was a very ill advised thing. For the settling an allowance for her and the prince would have given such a jealousy of them, that the English would have apprehended a secret correspondence and confidence between them: and the not doing it shewed the contrary very evidently. But, though the prince did not increase her court and state upon this additional dignity, she managed her privy purse so well, that she became eminent in her charities: and the good grace with which she bestowed favours did always increase their value. She had read much, both in history and divinity. And when a course of humours in her eyes forced her from that, she set her self to work with such a constant diligence, that she made the ladies about her ashamed to be idle. She knew little of our affairs, till I was admitted to wait on her. And I began to lay before her the state of our court, and the intrigues in it, ever since the restoration: which she received

with great satisfaction, and shewed true judgment, and a good mind, in all the reflections that she made. I will only mention one in this place: she asked me what had sharpened the king so much against Mr. Jurieu, the copiosest and the most zealous writer of the age, who wrote with great vivacity as well as learning. I told her, he mixed all his books with a most virulent acrimony of style, and among other things he had writ with great indecency of Mary queen of Scots, which cast reflections on them that were descended from her; and was not very decent in one that desired to be considered as zealous for the prince and herself. She said, Jurieu was to support the cause that he defended, and to expose those that persecuted it, in the best way he could. And, if what he said of Mary queen of Scots was true, he was not to be blamed, who made that use of it: and, she added, that if princes would do ill things, they must expect that the world will take revenges on their memory, since they cannot reach their persons: that was but a small suffering, far short of what others suffered at their hands. So far I have given the character of those persons, as it appeared to me upon my first admittance to them. I shall have occasion to say much more of them in the sequel of this work. 1686.

I found the prince was resolved to make use of me. He told me, it would not be convenient for me to live any where but at the Hague: for none of the outlawed persons came thither. So I would keep my self by staying there out of the danger that I might legally incur by conversing with I was much trusted by them.

1686. them, which would be unavoidable if I lived any where else. He also recommended me both to Fagell, Dykvelt, and Halewyn's confidence, with whom he chiefly consulted. I had a mind to see a little into the prince's notions, before I should engage my self deeper into his service. I was afraid lest his struggle with the Louvestein party, as they were called, might have given him a jealousy of liberty and of a free government. He assured me, it was quite the contrary: nothing but such a constitution could resist a powerful aggressor long, or have the credit that was necessary to raise such sums, as a great war might require^e. He condemned all the late proceedings in England with relation to the charters, and expressed his sense of a legal and limited authority very fully. I told him I was such a friend to liberty, that I could not be satisfied with the point of religion alone, unless it was accompanied with the securities of law. I asked his sense of the church of England. He said, he liked our worship well,

The prince's
sense of our
affairs.

^e In the strong language of Cobbett, the clear-sighted radical, this example set us by a small and assailable country of borrowing money to be paid by posterity, is called "the infernal system hatched by the Scotch bishop Burnet, for the purpose of corrupting the souls, and starving the bodies of this once honest, free, and well clad people." Cobbett's *Weekly Political Register*, June 1828. So much for subsequent taxation, by an interchange en-

riching a country. On the great lord Mansfield being asked, why he preferred laying out his money in mortgages to buying land, or purchasing in the funds, he replied that the one was principal without interest, and the other interest without principal. Accordingly, about thirty years since, the holders of stock in the five per cents. were deprived by a manœuvre of the government of near one third of their property. What is to follow, no one knows.

and our government in the church, as much better than parity: but he blamed our condemning the foreign churches, as he had observed some of our divines did. I told him, whatever some hotter men might say, all were not of that mind. When he found I was in my opinion for toleration, he said, that was all he would ever desire to bring us to, for quieting our contentions at home^f. He also promised to me, that he should never be prevailed with to set up the Calvinistical notions of the decrees of God, to which I did imagine some might drive him. He wished some of our ceremonies, such as the surplice, and the cross in baptism, with our bowing to the altar, might be laid aside^g. I thought it necessary to enter with him into all these particulars, that so I might be furnished from his own mouth to give a full account of his sense to some in England, who would expect it of me, and were disposed to believe what I should assure them of. This discourse was of some hours' continuance: and it passed in the princess's presence. Great notice came to be taken of the free access and long conferences I

1686.

^f It seems the prince even then thought of being king. S. (The prince of Orange had by his friends supported the bill for the exclusion of James, and had himself endeavoured to persuade king Charles the second to patronize it even after its rejection by the house of lords. See Sidney's *Diary*, vol. II. p. 164. Love of his native country, an inbred hatred of France, and a wish for the direction of the po-

licy of England influenced all his counsels. He had adopted the design of the expedition to England, as Ralph the historian observes, before the prosecution of the bishops.)

^g (This agrees with the account given by the dismissed chaplains of the princess. They reported also her consort's dislike to the observation of the thirtieth of January. See Strickland's *Lives of the Queens of England*, vol. I. p. 224.)

1686. had with them both. I told him, it was necessary
 692 for his service to put the fleet of Holland in a good condition. And this he proposed soon after to the States, who gave the hundredth penny for a fund to perfect that. I moved to them both the writing to the bishop of London, and to the king concerning him. And, though the princess feared it might irritate the king too much, in conclusion I persuaded them to it.

The king, hearing of this admission I had, began in two or three letters to reflect on me, as a dangerous man, whom they ought to avoid and beware of. To this no answer was made. Upon the setting up the ecclesiastical commission, some from England pressed them to write over against it, and to begin a breach upon that. I told them, I thought that was no way advisable: they could not be supposed to understand our laws so well, as to oppose those things on their own knowledge: so that, I thought, this could not be expected by [*f.* from] them, till some resolute person would dispute the authority of the court, and bring it to an argument, and so to a solemn decision. I likewise said, that I did not think every error in government would warrant a breach: if the foundations were struck at, that would vary the case: but illegal acts in particular instances could not justify such a conclusion. The prince seemed surprised at this: for the king made me pass for one that was a rebel in my heart. And he now saw how far I was from it^h. I continued on this ground to the last.

^h (According to his own account, he advised the prince to get the fleet of Holland put into a good condition, before

That which fixed me in their confidence was, 1686.
 the liberty I took, in a private conversation with
 the princess, to ask her what she intended the
 prince should be, if she came to the crown. She,
 who was new to all matters of that kind, did not
 understand my meaning, but fancied that whatever
 accrued to her would likewise accrue to him in
 the right of marriage. I told her it was not so:
 and I explained king Henry the seventh's title to
 her, and what had passed when queen Mary mar-
 ried Philip of Spainⁱ. I told her, a titular king-
 ship was no acceptable thing to a man, especially
 if it was to depend on another's life: and such a
 nominal dignity might endanger the real one that
 the prince had in Holland. She desired me to pro-
 pose a remedy. I told her, the remedy, if she
 could bring her mind to it, was, to be contented
 to be his wife, and to engage herself to him, that
 she would give him the real authority as soon as
 it came into her hands, and endeavour effectually
 to get it to be legally vested in him during life:
 this would lay the greatest obligation on him
 possible, and lay the foundation of a perfect union

The prin-
 cess's reso-
 lution with
 respect to
 the prince.

the foundations were struck at ; foreseeing, it is to be sup-
 posed, the king's future con-
 duct.)

ⁱ Henry the seventh's case
 was to the point, who undoubt-
 edly after his queen's death
 reigned in the wrong of her
 son; nor could his Lancastrian
 title avail him; his mother,
 from whom he claimed, out-
 living him. But the instance
 Burnet quoted of Philip of
 Spain made directly against

what he proposed, who, though
 proclaimed king of England,
 was excluded from the ad-
 ministration, even during his
 queen's life, and never pre-
 tended to exclude her sister,
 or his own issue, if he had had
 any by her. D. (Philip's case
 supported the bishop's posi-
 tion, that no right to govern
 this country would accrue to
 the prince, by virtue of his
 marriage with the princess.)

1686. between them, which had been of late a little
 embroiled^k: this would also give him another
 sense of all our affairs: I asked pardon for the
 presumption of moving her in such a tender point:
 but I solemnly protested, that no person living
 693 had moved me in it, or so much as knew of it, or
 should ever know of it, but as she should order it.
 I hoped she would consider well of it: for, if she
 once declared her mind, I hoped she would never
 go back, or retract it. I desired her therefore to
 take time to think of it. She presently answered
 me, she would take no time to consider of any
 thing by which she could express her regard and
 affection to the prince; and ordered me to give
 him an account of all that I had laid before her,
 and to bring him to her, and I should hear what
 she would say upon it. He was that day a hunt-
 ing: and next day I acquainted him with all that
 had passed, and carried him to her; where she in
 a very frank manner told him, that she did not
 know that the laws of England were so contrary
 to the laws of God, as I had informed her^l: she
 did not think that the husband was ever to be
 obedient to the wife: she promised him, he should
 always bear rule: and she asked only, that he
 would obey the command of, *Husbands love your
 wives*, as she should do that, *Wives be obedient to
 your husbands in all things*. From this lively in-
 troduction we engaged into a long discourse of
 the affairs of England. Both seemed well pleased
 with me, and with all that I had suggested. But

^k By Mrs. Villiers, now damned husband for all that. S.
 lady Orkney; but he proved a

^l Foolish. S.

such was the prince's cold way, that he said not one word to me upon it, that looked like acknowledgment. Yet he spoke of it to some about him in another strain. He said, he had been nine years married, and had never the confidence to press this matter on the queen, which I had now brought about easily in a day. Ever after that, he seemed to trust me entirely^m. 1686.

Complaints came daily over from England of all the high things that the priests were every where throwing out. Pen the quaker came over to Holland. He was a talking vain man, who had been long in the king's favour, he being the vice-admiral's son. He had such an opinion of his own faculty of persuading, that he thought none could stand before it: though he was singular in that opinion: for he had a tedious luscious way, that was not apt to overcome a man's reason, though it might try his patienceⁿ. He undertook to persuade the prince to come into the king's measures, and had two or three long audiences of him upon the subject: and he and I spent some hours together on it. The prince readily consented to a toleration of popery, as well as of the dissenters, provided it were proposed and passed

Pen sent
over to
treat with
the prince.

^m [I] therefore take it for granted, that the prince ordered him to propose it to the princess, before he would engage in the attempt upon England: and she must understand it so, for certainly such a little Scotch priest durst not have proposed altering the right of succession to the

three kingdoms of his own head, though he had had double the confidence he was known to have. D. (Compare *Tempora Mutantur*, page 5, a pamphlet so entitled, treating of Burnet's supposed change in his doctrines.)

ⁿ He spoke very agreeably, and with much spirit. S.

1686. in parliament: and he promised his assistance, if
 there was need of it, to get it to pass. But for
 the tests, he would enter into no treaty about
 them. He said, it was a plain betraying the
 security of the protestant religion, to give them
 up. Nothing was left unsaid, that might move
 him to agree to this in the way of interest: the
 king would enter into an entire confidence with
 694 him, and would put his best friends in the chief
 trusts. Pen undertook for this so positively, that
 he seemed to believe it himself, or he was a great
 proficient in the art of dissimulation. Many sus-
 pected that he was a concealed papist^o. It is
 certain he was much with father Petre, and was
 particularly trusted by the earl of Sunderland.
 So, though he did not pretend any commission
 for what he promised, yet we looked on him as a
 man employed. To all this the prince answered,
 that no man was more for toleration in principle
 than he was: he thought the conscience was only
 subject to God: and as far as a general toleration,
 even of papists, would content the king, he would
 concur in it heartily: but he looked on the tests
 as such a real security, and indeed the only one,
 when the king was of another religion, that he
 would join in no counsels with those that intended
 to repeal those laws that enacted them. Pen said,

^o The king once in dis-
 course with a person I had it
 from, said, "I suppose you
 "take William Pen for a
 "quaker, but I can assure
 "you he is no more so than
 "I am." He was much em-
 ployed by lord Godolphin

when he was treasurer, in car-
 rying messages to people he
 did not think proper to con-
 verse with himself. D. (Penn
 satisfied his friends, that the
 suspicion of his being a Ro-
 man catholic was groundless.)

the king would have all or nothing : but that, if 1686.
this was once done, the king would secure the toleration by a solemn and unalterable law. To this the late repeal of the edict of Nantes, that was declared perpetual and irrevocable, furnished an answer that admitted of no reply. So Pen's negotiation with the prince had no effect.

He pressed me to go over to England, since I was in principle for toleration : and he assured me the king would prefer me highly. I told him, since the tests must go with this toleration, I could never be for it. Among other discourses he told me one thing, that was not accomplished in the way in which he had a mind I should believe it would be, but had a more surprising accomplishment. He told me a long series of predictions, which, as he said, he had from a man that pretended a commerce with angels, who had foretold many things that were past very punctually. But he added, that in the year 1688 there would such a change happen in the face of affairs as would amaze all the world. And after the revolution, which happened that year, I asked him before much company, if that was the event that was predicted. He was uneasy at the question ; but did not deny what he had told me, which, he said, he understood of the full settlement of the nation upon a toleration, by which he believed all men's minds would be perfectly quieted and united.

Now I go from this to prosecute the recital of English affairs. Two eminent bishops died this Some bishops died in England. year, Pearson, bishop of Chester, and Fell, bishop

1686. of Oxford. The first of these was in all respects
 — the greatest divine of the age: a man of great
 learning, strong reason, and of a clear judgment.
 He was a judicious and grave preacher, more in-
 695 structive than affective; and a man of a spotless
 life, and of an excellent temper. His book on
 the creed is among the best that our church has
 produced. He was not active in his diocese, but
 too remiss and easy in his episcopal function; and
 was a much better divine than a bishop. He was
 a speaking instance of what a great man could
 fall to: for his memory went from him so en-
 tirely, that he became a child some years before
 he died^p.

Fell, bishop of Oxford, was a man of great
 strictness in the course of his life, and of much
 devotion. His learning appears in that noble
 edition of St. Cyprian that he published. He
 had made great beginnings in learning before the
 restoration: but his continued application to his
 employments after that, stopped the progress that
 otherwise he might have made. He was made
 soon after dean of Christ Church, and afterwards
 bishop of Oxford. He set himself to promote
 learning in the university, but most particularly
 in his own college, which he governed with great
 care: and was indeed in all respects a most exem-
 plary man, a little too much heated in the matter
 of our disputes with the dissenters. But as he

^p (An interesting letter of
 the learned Mr. Dodwell has
 been lately published, in which
 an account is given of his in-

terview with this great man,
 after a failure of the powers
 of his mind.)

was among the first of our clergy that apprehended the design of bringing in popery, so he was one of the most zealous against it^q. He had much zeal for reforming abuses; and managed it perhaps with too much heat, and in too peremptory a way^r. But we have so little of that among

^q (Bishop Fell, who had been a sufferer in the cause of the monarchy, was zealous also for the real liberties of Englishmen. "There is a sort of "men," he observes in a sermon preached before the lords, in 1680, "who would commend a more forcible expedient for removing the public differences, the security of a standing army. I will not argue how well this method may agree with the complexions of a more southern climate; it is enough our rougher constitutions will never suit with such a medicine." P. 11. Neither do his foreign politics appear to have agreed with those which were too prevalent at court. "Shall I warn you," says he, in the same discourse, "of your potent neighbour, who, as your arms employed against his enemies have raised him to his present greatness; so now attends and watches, till your arms employed against yourselves, shall raise him higher yet, and make a ready way unto his further conquests?" P. 20.)

^r Anthony Wood, in his *Athenæ Oxon.* according to his usual phraseology, calls him a

valde-vult man. Wood did not love him. But Fell was a very extraordinary person, and the greatest governor that has ever been since his time, in either of the universities. Both of them at this time want much of the spirit and dignity in it that he had. They are sinking because of that; with the addition at Oxford of a foolish disloyalty, that breeds too many of their youth to be party men of the worst kind. But time, not violence, must cure that. From all this a very great evil has happened; our young men of rank are driven abroad for their education, and they bring nothing from thence, that I have ever seen, which qualifies them for serving their country at home. It gives them (I speak in general only) a turn, too much to courts and armies, to the luxuries of the town, and to the neglect of their interests in the country, and consequently to the freedom of it, the principles of which they know and value less, than the little police, for some private accommodations, and that only for people of fashion, which they meet with in the foreign countries they usually go to. O. (Wood however does ample

1686. us, that no wonder if such men are censured by those who love not such patterns, nor such severe task-masters^s.

Ward, of Salisbury, fell also under a loss of memory and understanding: so that he, who was both in mathematics and philosophy, and in the strength of judgment and understanding, one of the first men of his time, though he came too late into our profession to become very eminent in it, was now a great instance of the despicable weakness to which man can fall. The court intended once to have named a coadjutor for him. But there being no precedent for that since the reformation, they resolved to stay till he should die.

Cartwright
and Parker
promoted.

The other two bishopricks were less considerable; so they resolved to fill them with the two worst men that could be found out. Cartwright was promoted to Chester. He was a man of good capacity, and had made some progress in learning. He was ambitious and servile, cruel and boisterous: and, by the great liberties he allowed himself, he fell under much scandal of the worst sort.

justice to the character of this learned and excellent person in art. *Fell* of his Athen. Oxon. It appears from an unpublished letter of Le Neve to the learned Mr. Baker, that archbishop Tenison made collections for a life of bishop Fell.)

^s He was much blamed for parting too easily with the earl of Clancarty, which afterwards proved the utter ruin of that very rich and noble family. D.

(See before, p. 601. of Burnet's first volume. For his share also in the removal of Locke from Christ Church, he has lately met with much severe censure; but it should be recollected that Fell, who, although decidedly opposed to Locke's politics yet disapproved of his removal, considered himself and his college legally obliged to obey their royal visitor.)

He had set himself long to raise the king's authority above law; which, he said, was only a method of government to which kings might submit as they pleased; but their authority was from God, absolute and superior to law, which they might exert, as oft as they found it necessary for the ends of government. So he was looked on as a man that would more effectually advance the design of popery, than if he should turn over to it. And indeed, bad as he was, he never made that step, even in the most desperate state of his affairs^t. 1686.

The see of Oxford was given to Dr. Parker, who was a violent independent at the time of the restoration, with a high profession of piety in their way^u. But he soon changed, and struck into the

^t He went to Ireland with king James, and there died neglected and poor. S. (He died there in the communion of the protestant church. See Salmon's *Lives of the English Bishops*, p. 388. In this particular he was as good as his word. For it appears, that when he was engaged in the visitation of Magdalen college, he declared in private conversation, that he would live and die in the church of England. This is mentioned in a MS. account of that visitation. See also Howell's *State Trials*, vol. XII. p. 95. He was not deficient in eloquence, as his speeches on that occasion shew. His conference with Walcot and others, at the time of their execution, for being

concerned in the Rye-house plot, is detailed in Salmon's *Characters of Noblemen and Gentlemen*, &c. p. 399—405.)

^u (Parker was not quite twenty years of age at the time of the restoration. And when the bishop says after this, that the articles against Cartwright and Parker were some of them too scandalous to be repeated, the charges against two individuals are very unfairly confounded. *Incesto additur integer*. It is observable, that the clergy who were most obnoxious for their compliance with the king's measures, were almost all, not of the old royalist, but at one period of their lives of the opposite party. Such were Parker, Cartwright, Crewe,

1686. highest form of the church of England ; and wrote many books with a strain of contempt and fury against all the dissenters, that provoked them out of measure ; of which an account was given in the history of the former reign^x. He had exalted the king's authority in matters of religion in so indecent a manner, that he condemned the ordinary form of saying the king was under God and Christ, as a crude and profane expression ; saying, that though the king was indeed under God, yet he was not under Christ, but above him. Yet, not being preferred as he expected, he writ after that many books on design to raise the authority of the church to an independance on the civil power. There was an entertaining liveliness in all his books : but it was neither grave nor correct. He was a covetous and ambitious man ; and seemed to have no other sense of religion but as a political interest, and a subject of party and faction. He seldom came to prayers, or to any exercises of devotion ; and was so lifted up with pride, that he was become insufferable to all that came near him. These two men were pitched on, as the fittest instruments that could be found among all the clergy, to betray and ruin the church. Some of the bishops brought to archbishop Sancroft articles against them, which they desired he would offer to the king in council, and pray that the mandate for consecrating them might be delayed, till time were given to examine particulars.

Sprat, Hall, and even Barlow. passive, obedience to the powers *that be.*)
 These temporizing prelates, ^x (Vol. I. p. 261, folio edit.)
 true to their own interest, were for active, as well as

And bishop Lloyd told me, that Sancroft promised to him not to consecrate them, till he had examined the truth of the articles; of which some were too scandalous to be repeated. Yet, when Sancroft saw what danger he might incur, if he were sued in a *premunire*, he consented to consecrate them^y. 1686.

The deanery of Christ's Church, the most important post in the university, was given to Massey, one of the new converts, though he had neither the gravity, the learning, nor the age that was suitable to such a dignity. But all was supplied by his early conversion: and it was set up for a maxim, to encourage all converts. He at first went to prayers in the chapel. But soon after, he declared himself more openly^z. Not long after this, the president of Magdalen college died. That is esteemed the richest foundation in England, perhaps in Europe; for though their certain rents are but about 4 or 5000*l*. yet it is 697 thought that the improved value of the estate

^y ('An accident happened in the action that struck him much. When he was going to give the chalice in the sacrament, he stumbled on one of the steps of the altar, and dashed out all the consecrated wine that was in it, which was much taken notice of, and gave himself the more trouble, since he was frightened to such a consecration by so mean a fear.' One of the alleged Suppressed Passages, but it is crossed for deletion in the Transcript.)

^z (He had a private chapel

of his own, in which the Roman catholic mode of worship was set up. Thus a dignitary of the church of England was permitted to desert her communion, and notwithstanding retain his preferment by virtue of a dispensation and pardon still on record; nay, as it is alleged by Wood, he had left it, previously to his being settled in the deanery; and yet the king continued to assert, that he had never taken any preferment from the national church.)

1686. belonging to it is about 40,000^a. So it was no wonder that the priests studied to get this endowment into their hands.

They had endeavoured to break in upon the university of Cambridge in a matter of less importance, but without success: and now they resolved to attack Oxford, by a strange fatality in their counsels. In all nations the privileges of colleges and universities are esteemed such sacred things, that few will venture to dispute these, much less to disturb them, when their title is good, and their possession is of a long continuance^b: for in these, not only the present body espouses the matter, but all who have been of it, even those that have only followed their study in it, think themselves bound in honour and gratitude to assist and support them. The priests began where they ought to have ended, when all other things were brought about to their mind. The Jesuits fancied, that, if they could get footing in the university, they would gain such a reputation by their methods of teaching youth, that they would carry them away from the university tutors, who were certainly too remiss. Some of the more moderate among them proposed, that the king should endow a new college in both universities, which needed not have cost above two thousand pound a year, and in these set his priests to work^c. But either the king stuck at the

^a (The bishop's informers valued too high.)

^b Yet in king George's reign, Oxford was bridled and insulted with troops, for no

manner of cause but their steadiness to the church. S.

^c (Bruce, earl of Ailesbury, in his letter mentioned among the notes on the preceding

charge which this would put him to, or his priests thought it too mean, and below his dignity not to lay his hand upon those great bodies: so rougher methods were resolved on^d. It was reckoned,

reign, addressed to Mr. Leigh of Adlestrop, writes thus of the unadvised attack on Magdalen college; "I had that college much at heart at the time of that most unhappy combustion. I was on my knees to beg of that good and misled king not to touch the freehold: and if he would have a college, rather to build one, altho' it was not according to the constitution. And altho' I had not a shilling ready money, I would have contributed a thousand pounds." Extract from the above-named letter, published in the 27th vol. of the European Magazine, p. 22.)

^d (The methods successfully used to get Magdalen college into their hands are mentioned in the following pages; but there was once an intention to proceed against this society by a *quo warranto*. In a letter to Dr. Bayley, one of the fellows of the college, which was printed at the time, and then supposed to have been written by the celebrated William Penn, to whom Bayley addressed an answer, the society is advised to petition that the order for the *quo warranto* against it may be recalled before it is too late. And that this was no vain threat, appears from the private instruc-

tions sent to the commissioners, during their stay at Oxford; a copy of which is extant in a MS. account of the visitation of the college by baron Jenner one of them. The threat is also alluded to in some printed accounts of the visitation. Besides the demand of a further submission from the fellows, they are enjoined "strictly to inquire into the management of the college affairs, and see whether matter may not be found sufficient for a *quo warranto*." In another written Account of these proceedings, once possessed by Mr. Hunt one of the then ejected fellows, and now in Magdalen college, it is observed, that the above-mentioned Letter was disowned by Mr. Penn. But it has been objected to him, that he afterwards attempted to allure Hough to submission by an offer of succeeding bishop Parker, then unwell, in the bishopric of Oxford. See Macaulay's *History of England*, vol. II. p. 299. The source of information on this point is Dr. Hough's Letter, printed in his *Life by Wilmot*, p. 25, giving an account of his journey to Windsor, accompanied by four fellows of the college, for the purpose of obtaining Penn's good offices with the

1686. that by frightening them they might be driven to compound the matter, and deliver up one or two colleges to them : and then, as the king said sometimes in the circle, they who taught best would be most followed.

The king's
letter re-
fused in
Cambridge.

They began with Cambridge upon a softer point, which yet would have made way for all the rest. The king sent his letter, or *mandamus*, to order F. Francis, an ignorant Benedictine monk, to be received a master of arts; once to open the way for letting them into the degrees of the university. The truth is, the king's letters were scarce ever refused in conferring degrees : and when ambassadors or foreign princes came to those places, they usually gave such degrees to those who belonged to them as were desired. The Morocco ambassador's secretary, that was a Mahometan, had that degree given him ; but a great distinction was made between honorary degrees given to strangers, who intended not to live among them, and those given to such as intended to settle among them : for every master of arts having a vote in the con-
698 vocation, they reckoned that, if they gave this degree, they must give all that should be pretended to on the like authority : and they knew

king. In consequence of one of Hough's friends, Mr. Cradock, accidentally mentioning, that bishop Parker was very ill, Hough's succession to the see was suggested with a smile by Penn ; but cold water was immediately thrown on the proposal by Cradock's observation, that the bishopric

would do very well with the presidentship. Penn who had before this time, on conversing with the members of the college in Oxford, written in their behalf to the king, now assured them of his further interposition with him. Compare Clarkson's *Life of William Penn*, ch. xxiii. p. 153.)

all the king's priests would be let in upon them, 1686.
 which might occasion in present great distraction
 and contentions among them; and in time they
 might grow to be a majority in the convocation,
 which is their parliament. They refused the *man-*
damus with great unanimity, and with a firmness
 that the court had not expected from them.
 New and repeated orders, full of severe threaten-
 ings in case of disobedience, were sent to them:
 and this piece of raillery was every where set up,
 that a papist was reckoned worse than a Maho-
 metan, and that the king's letters were less con-
 sidered than the ambassador from Morocco had
 been. Some feeble or false men of the university
 tried to compound the matter, by granting this
 degree to F. Francis, but enacting at the same
 time, that it should not be a precedent for the
 future for any other of the like nature. This was
 not given way to: for it was said, that in all such
 cases the obedience that was once paid would be
 a much stronger argument for continuing to do it,
 as oft as it should be desired, than any such proviso
 could be against it.

Upon this the vice-chancellor was summoned before the ecclesiastical commission to answer this contempt. He was a very honest, but a very weak man^e. He made a poor defence. And it was no small reflection on that great body, that their

The vice-chancellor turned out by the ecclesiastical commissioners.

^e Dr. Peachel, master of Magdalen college (Cambridge). After the revolution, he starved himself to death, upon archbishop Sancroft's having rebuked him for setting an ill

example in the university, by drunkenness and other loose behaviour: and after four days abstinence would have eaten, but could not. D.

1686. chief magistrate was so little able to assert their privileges, or to justify their proceedings. He was treated with great contempt by Jefferies. But he having acted only as the chief person of that body, all that was thought fit to be done against him was, to turn him out of his office. That was but an annual office, and of no profit: so this was a slight censure, chiefly when it was all that followed on such heavy threatenings^f. The university chose another vice-chancellor, who was a man of much spirit^g: and in his speech, which in course he made upon his being chosen, he promised, that, during his magistracy, neither religion nor the rights of the body should suffer by his means. The court did not think fit to insist more upon this matter; which was too plain a confession, either of their weakness in beginning such an ill-grounded attempt, or of their feebleness in letting it fall, doing so little after they had talked so much about it. And now all people began to see that they had taken wrong measures of the king, when they thought that it would be easy to engage him into bold things, before he could see into the ill consequences that might attend them, but that being once engaged he would resolve to go through with them at all adventures. When I knew him, he seemed to

^f He was also suspended *ab officio et beneficio* of his mastership of the college (Magdalen) he was head of, and this suspension to be during the king's pleasure. O. (In his letter to Mr. Pepys, dated in December 1687, Dr. Pea-

chel says he had reason given him to expect a deprivation in a little time. Pepys's *Diary*, vol. II. p. 90. He was not restored before the 24th of October in the following year.)

^g John Balderston, master of Emanuel college. *Cole*.

have set up that for a maxim, that a king when he made a step was never to go back, nor to encourage faction and disobedience by yielding to it^h. 1686.

After this unsuccessful attempt upon Cambridge, another was made upon Oxford, that lasted longer, and had greater effects; which I shall set all down together, though the conclusion of this affair ran far into the year after this that I now write of. The presidentship of Magdalen was given by the election of the fellows. So the king sent a *mandamus*, requiring them to choose one Farmer, an ignorant and vicious person, who had not one qualification that could recommend him to so a high a post besides that of changing his religion. *Mandamus* letters had no legal authority in themⁱ: but all the great preferments of the

An attempt to impose a popish president on Magdalen college.

^h Reflecting on his father king Charles's want of firmness; with which he might more justly be charged than with insincerity, the perpetual excuse of his enemies for their conduct towards him. This prince was driven from London on account of his attempt to bring to a legal trial for high treason five members of the house of commons, having, as he thought, sufficient proof of their guilt; and returned to be murdered there by those, who had seized on forty of the members, and set aside the majority, of the same assembly. Consult Carte's *Hist. of England*, vol. IV. pp. 399. 601. Εἰκὼν Βασιλική, chap. 111. and

Baillie, the Covenanter's, *Letters*, vol. I. Let. 31. p. 332.

ⁱ In the year 1590, when notwithstanding her commendatory letter another person was elected president of the college, queen Elizabeth under the pretext of some irregularity in the form of election, which at the same time originated with the friends of the man she recommended, constituted Dr. Bond president. Bond however, unlike Farmer and afterwards Parker, was qualified by the college statutes for the place. An unpublished Letter is preserved in the Bodleian Library, written by the great earl of Clarendon to Dr. Oliver president

1686. church being in the king's disposal, those who did pretend to favour were not apt to refuse his recommendation, lest that should be afterwards remembered to their prejudice. But now, since it was visible in what channel favour was like to run, less regard was had to such a letter. The fellows of that house did upon this choose Dr. Hough, one of their body, who, as he was in all respects a statutable man, so he was a worthy and a firm man, not apt to be threatened out of his right^k. They carried their election, according to their statutes, to the bishop of Winchester, their visitor: and he confirmed it^l. So that matter was legally settled. This was highly resented at court. It was said, that, in the case of a *manda-*

of this college, which shows the kind of attention Charles the first wished to be given to his recommendatory letters. "You may remember," his lordship writes, "that when you were first chosen president, I told you at Oxford by the leave and direction of our master, that is in heaven, that if he himself should at any time recommend a person to you to be chosen into your college, who was not in manners or learning fully qualified for the favour, he would never take it ill, if you rejected him, and chose another man fit. And if the king submitted to these rules, all other men may well observe them." MSS. *Bodl. Smith*, XXIX. 411. Dr. Oliver himself had a royal mandate in

his favour according to the assertion of the commissioners during the visitation of the college in 1687, mentioned in a MS. Account of it. See also Dr. Smith's Narrative, p. 92.)

^k He was at this time also domestic chaplain to the duke of Ormond. O.

^l (Mews, bishop of Winchester, having probably had some intimation of the design of the court, did, on the decease of the late president, address a letter to the college "most earnestly pressing them to the observation of their founder's statutes in the election of a president;" and recommending at the same time to their choice the bishop of Man, Dr. Levinz, formerly a fellow of the society. The original letter is in the possession of the lord Braybrooke.)

mus for an undeserving man, they ought to have represented the matter to the king, and stayed till they had his pleasure: it was one of the chief services that the universities expected from their chancellors, which made them always choose men of great credit at court, that by their interest such letters might be either prevented or recalled^m. The duke of Ormond was now their

1686.

^m (The following is a true statement of the conduct of the college in relation to the mandate. Before they proceeded to the election of a president on the decease of doctor Clerke, having been credibly informed, that the king had granted letters mandatory in favour of Farmer, the vice-president and fellows, in a petition dated April 9, 1687, represented to his majesty, that he was incapable by the college statutes of the place; and therefore prayed either to be left to a free election, or that a person might be recommended more serviceable to the king and to the college. On the 11th of the same month the mandate arrived recommending Farmer; when it was agreed by the fellows to defer the consideration of the affair till the 13th, which was the day they had appointed for the election, conformably to the direction of the statutes. On the 13th they determined, that the election should be postponed till the next day, on account of their having a petition then lying before his majesty. On

the 14th not having received an answer to their petition, they again resolved not to proceed to elect till the following day, that day being the last to which they could, consistently with the statutes, defer the election. On the 15th doctor Thomas Smith and captain Bagshaw, two of the fellows, acquainted the college, that on the 13th they had been informed by the earl of Sunderland, president of the privy council, to whom on the 10th of the month the college petition had been delivered, together with a letter of the same import addressed to his lordship by the bishop of Winchester, visitor of the college, that his majesty, having sent his letter to the college, expected to be obeyed. Doctor Aldworth, the vice-president, as well as doctor Fairfax, nephew of the parliament's general the lord Fairfax, and doctors Smith and Pudsey, declared for a second address to the king, but all the others were for proceeding immediately to election. Accordingly, only two of their number, Charnock and Thompson, de-

1686. chancellor: but he had little credit in the court; and was declining in his age, which made him

claring *viva voce* for Farmer, Mr., afterwards doctor, Hough, and doctor Maynard, having been returned by the major part of the whole body of the fellows to the thirteen senior fellows, Hough was finally elected by a great majority of the thirteen. His election was according to the prescribed form, confirmed by the visitor on the 18th, although that confirmation is not essentially necessary. Upon lord Sunderland's requiring from the college an account of these proceedings, a statement of the case was drawn up, and either on the 18th or 19th of the same month of April transmitted to the duke of Ormond, chancellor of the university, together with a letter requesting his grace's interposition with the king. These papers are inserted in a contemporary Relation of the Proceedings against St. Mary Magdalen College in Oxon, pp. 4 and 5, commonly attributed to doctor Aldworth, the then vice-president of the college; the head of whose family, the present lord Braybrooke, has in his possession some of the doctor's papers respecting this affair. It is proper to observe, that there is great reason to believe, that the king was unacquainted with the answer given by lord Sunderland to the petition, and with the college ever petitioning before they

elected Hough. See the Biographia Britann. artic. *Dr. J. Smith*, p. 3729, and a note we shall subjoin respecting the delivery of this petition. An interesting anecdote, affording additional credibility to this supposition, occurs in the *Longueruana*, printed at Berlin in 1754. M. Massé Doyen de la cathédrale d'Oxford et Principal du collège de Christ, (see above, p. 696, folio edit.) mon bon ami, et qui par attachement au roi Jacques, s'étoit sauvé d'Angleterre, me disoit que nous étions de grands sots d'ajouter foi à Sanderus qui étoit un fripon, et qui étant procureur du collège de Christ, l'avoit volé. Massé en savoit des nouvelles. Ce M. Massé reçut un jour un ordre du roi Jacques, signé du my lord Sunderland, secrétaire d'état, pour chasser du collège de Christ les quatre-vingt écoliers qui y étoient, s'ils ne se faisoient catholiques. Sa surprise fut extrême; il alla consulter un ami, et ils se persuaderent tous deux que le roi étoit trahi, et que tout alloit être perdu. Massé alla à Londres pour informer le roi de l'impossibilité d'exécuter un tel ordre. Le roi assura n'en avoir aucune connoissance. Massé exhiba la pièce signée de Sunderland, et le roi le loua de n'avoir pas obéi, et le renvoya à Oxford: mais il n'ouvrit pas les yeux, et ne vit

retire into the country. It was much observedⁿ, 1686.
 that this university, that had asserted the king's
 prerogative in the highest strains of the most
 abject flattery possible, both in their addresses,
 and in a wild decree they had made but three
 years before this, in which they had laid together
 a set of such highflown maxims as must establish
 an uncontrollable tyranny, should be the first
 body of the nation that should feel the effects of
 it most sensibly. The cause was brought before
 the ecclesiastical commission. The fellows were
 first asked, why they had not chosen Farmer in
 obedience to the king's letter? And to that they
 answered by offering a list of many just excep-
 tions against him. The subject was fruitful, and
 the scandals he had given were very public. The
 court was ashamed of him, and insisted no more 700
 on him: but they said, that the house ought
 to have shewed more respect to the king's letter,
 than to have proceeded to an election in contempt
 of it.

The ecclesiastical commission took upon them
 to declare Hough's election null, and to put the
 house under suspension. And, that the design of
 the court in this matter might be carried on
 without the load of recommending a papist,
 Parker, bishop of Oxford, was now recommended:
 and the fellows were commanded to proceed to a
 new election in his favour. They excused them-

^c They dis-
 obey, and
 are censur-
 ed for it.

pas que l'on vouloit porter les
 peuples à un soulèvement,
 p. 219. It is now found, that
 the substance of this extract
 is given in Dr. Warton's notes

on the *Poetical Works of Dry-*
den, vol. II. p. 321.)

ⁿ And their virtue and
 steadiness ought equally to be
 observed. S.

1686. selves, since they were bound by their oaths to maintain their statutes: and by these, an election being once made and confirmed, they could not proceed to a new choice, till the former was annulled in some court of law: church benefices and college preferments were freeholds, and could only be judged in a court of record: and, since the king was now talking so much of liberty of conscience, it was said, that the forcing men to act against their oaths seemed not to agree with those professions. In opposition to this it was said, that the statutes of colleges had been always considered as things that depended entirely on the king's good pleasure; so that no oaths to observe them could bind them, when it was in opposition to the king's command.

1687. This did not satisfy the fellows: and, though the king, as he went through Oxford in his progress in the year 1687, sent for them, and ordered them to go presently and choose Parker for their president, in a strain of language ill suited to the majesty of a crowned head, (for he treated them with foul language pronounced in a very angry tone;) yet it had no effect on them. They insisted still on their oaths, though with a humility and submission, that they hoped would have mollified him°. They continued thus firm. A sub-

° (" His majesty, being in- " sent for them yesterday,
 " formed that the fellows of " after dinner, to his anti-
 " Magdalen college had re- " chamber in Christ Church
 " fused to admit the bishop " college, where his majesty
 " of Oxford to be their presi- " chid them very much for
 " dent instead of Mr. Farmer, " their disobedience, and with

altern commission was sent from the ecclesiastical commission to finish the matter. Bishop Cartwright was the head of this commission, as sir Charles Hedges was the king's advocate to manage the matter^p. Cartwright acted in so rough a manner, that it shewed he was resolved to sacrifice all things to the king's pleasure. It was an afflicting thing, which seemed to have a peculiar character of indignity in it, that this first act of violence committed against the legal possessions of the church, was executed by one bishop, and done in favour of another. 1687.

The new president was turned out^q. And, And were all turned out.

“ a much greater appearance
 “ of anger than ever I perceived in his majesty, who
 “ bad them go away immediately, and choose the bishop
 “ of Oxford before this morning, or else they should certainly feel the weight of
 “ their sovereign's displeasure.” Blathwayt's Letter to Pepys, in vol. II. of the *Memoirs*, p. 86, of the Correspondence. Bonrepaus the French agent, who was at that time with the king, records, that his anger prevented him from continuing his speech for some moments. See Mazure *Histoire de la Revolution*, tom. 11. p. 29. They soon after this sent an humble address to the king at Bath, who had refused to receive their petition when he was at Oxford, offering to obey him in any thing that did not interfere with and violate their consciences.)

^p Who was afterwards secretary of state to king William and queen Ann. He was turned out a little before king William died, and lord Nottingham refused to be secretary to the queen, unless he were restored; upon a pretence that he suffered for a vote he had given in the house of commons; but the truth was to hinder Vernon from being so, whom his lordship did not like for a colleague. D.

^q (The president appeared twice on the 21st of October, before the commissioners. His first appearance is mentioned in these terms by Mr. Holden one of the fellows, in an unpublished Letter written to his father on the 31st of the same month. “ Dr. Hough spoke
 “ very fully to all particulars,
 “ with so modest, calm, and
 “ yet assured mien, with so
 “ much reason, eloquence, and

1687. because he would not deliver the keys of his house the doors were broken open : and Parker was put in possession. The fellows were required to make their submission, to ask pardon 701 for what was past, and to accept of the bishop for their president. They still pleaded their oath : and were all turned out, except two that

" gracefulness, as charmed not
 " only his judges, but even
 " his enemies." It is added,
 " After making his final ap-
 " peal against the proceedings
 " of the commissioners, on
 " their binding him to appear
 " in the king's bench to an-
 " swer for a hum of applause
 " given by some indiscreet
 " persons then in court, they
 " took occasion to express a
 " very great esteem for the
 " parts and person of the
 " doctor, and that they would
 " have rid a hundred miles to
 " serve him." It was at this
 time, that "he uttered" writes
 Dr. Ingram in his *Memorials
 of Oxford*, "these memorable
 " words, which deserve to be
 " recorded in letters of gold :
 " My lords, I do hereby pro-
 " test against all your pro-
 " ceedings, and against all
 " that you have done, or here-
 " after shall do in prejudice
 " of me and my right, as
 " illegal, unjust, and null ; and
 " therefore I appeal to my
 " sovereign lord the king in
 " his courts of justice," vol. II.
 p. 31. By the favour of Dr.
 Bandinell, the greatly meriting
 keeper of the Bodleian Library,
 we are able to add the follow-

ing curious anecdote, taken
 from the private memorandum
 book of Carte the historian.
 " Oct. 25, 1687. the bishop
 " was turned out of the presi-
 " dentship of Magdalen. He
 " dined that day with the
 " countess of Ossory, who
 " taking a glass of Moselle
 " wine, and waving it under
 " her nose for the flavour, for
 " she never drank any, 'Come
 " doctor,' says she, 'my ser-
 " vice to you, be of good com-
 " fort, 'tis but twelve months
 " to this day twelvemonth.'
 " 'Tis certainly so, madam,'
 " replied the doctor, 'but what
 " then ?' 'I say nothing,' said
 " she, 'but remember what I
 " say, 'tis but twelve months
 " to this day twelvemonth.'
 " And that day twelvemonth
 " he was reinstated." The
 countess was the mother of
 the then earl of Ossory, grand-
 son of the old duke of Ormond,
 to whom Hough was chap-
 lain. She was a Dutch lady,
 and her son lord Ossory, pre-
 viously to the revolution, had
 espoused the interests of the
 prince of Orange. See note
 below at p. 766 of the folio
 edition. She died soon after
 the recurrence of the day.)

submitted^r. So that it was expected to see that 1687.
house soon stocked with papists. The nation, as

^r (On the 25th of October 1687, bishop Parker, not indeed a Roman catholic, but disqualified by the college statutes for the place, having been put in possession of it, the fellows were required by the commissioners, who were Cartwright bishop of Chester, the chief justice Wright, and baron Jenner, to submit to him as president. Doctor Fairfax, who, with the vice-president, doctor Aldworth, had been suspended from his fellowship by the ecclesiastical commission, for not obeying the king's mandate in favour of Farmer, denied the authority of the court, refused the required submission, and appealed to the king in his courts of justice. He had also demurred to the jurisdiction of the ecclesiastical commission, when before it in London; which accounts for his suspension in a case where the other fellows were equally concerned. His firm and spirited opposition to that higher court is upon record. The other fellows now agreed to sign a declaration, that, as his majesty had by his royal authority caused the bishop of Oxford to be installed president, they submitted, as far as was lawful, and agreeable to the statutes of the college; consenting to leave out of their declaration this additional clause, "and no way " prejudicial to the right and " title of doctor Hough," on

the assurance of the commissioners, one of whom was chief justice of England, that the omission would in no way invalidate or prejudice doctor Hough's title. Dr. T. Smith said, he submitted without reserve. Dr. Fairfax was immediately after this removed from his fellowship, and two Roman catholics admitted to this and another vacancy. But a letter having been received by the commissioners from the earl of Sunderland, the fellows were on the 28th of the month informed by the bishop of Chester, that his majesty expected they should acknowledge the legality of the proceedings of the court, and ask the king's pardon for their great disobedience. In a paper which they presented to the commissioners, they declined doing either; and on being required to submit to the bishop of Oxford as president, only two of all the fellows then present in college answered affirmatively, Dr. Smith and Mr. Charnock, whilst the others, according to baron Jenner's account of these proceedings, either referred the commissioners to their former paper of submission, or refused to make any direct declaration; but the court insisting on having a positive answer to the question they had proposed, twelve of the number positively rejected the required submis-

1687. well as the university, looked on all this proceeding with a just indignation. It was thought an open piece of robbery and burglary, when men, authorized by no legal commission, came and forcibly turned men out of their possession and freehold^s. This agreed ill with the professions

sion. A person well acquainted with the fellows of Magdalen, in a Letter written at the time says, "They complain, that the commissioners made a false construction of their paper of submission, as would appear by a comparison of it with the college petition to the king, presented by them at the same time." Consult Howell's *State Trials*, vol. XII. p. 99. On the 16th of the next month, November, the commissioners having returned to Oxford with written directions for their conduct, all the fellows who were resident in college, twenty-eight in number, were called upon by them, Smith and Charnock excepted, to sign a form of submission and petition to the king, imploring his pardon, acknowledging the justice of the late proceedings, and declaring their entire submission to the bishop of Oxford as their president. All who were thus called upon refused compliance, and were all of them, with the exception of Mr. Thompson, who had only offended the ruling powers by signing the petition against Farmer, expelled the college by the commissioners. It appears from the MS. ac-

count just mentioned of this visitation, drawn up by baron Jenner, that he and the other commissioners on their return were introduced by lord Sunderland to the king at Whitehall, who, on a narrative of their proceedings having been read to him, approved of their conduct, and said, "that all the bishops of England should not excuse a refuser." On the 10th of December the king's commissioners for ecclesiastical causes declared the expelled fellows, together with doctor Hough, twenty-six persons in all, incapable of receiving any ecclesiastical dignity, benefice, or promotion; and further ordered, that such of them as were not yet in holy orders, should be incapable of them. A sentence, as it is said, carried only by a majority of one. It ought to be related here, that after the expulsion of the fellows, the demies, or scholars on the foundation, for refusing to submit to the government of the usurping president and officers, were formally removed by them in the following months of January and February.)

^s (The prince of Orange in his declaration of the reasons inducing him to come to this

that the king was still making, that he would maintain the church of England as she was by law established: for this struck at the whole estate, and all the temporalties of the church^t. 1687.

country, notices, amongst other particulars, the deprivation of the president and fellows of Magdalen college, stating that the turning them out of their freeholds was contrary to law, and to an express provision in the Magna Charta. Burnet says below, page 799, that the king himself, both at Fever-sham and after his return to Whitehall, justified all he had done before, but spoke a little doubtfully of the business of Magdalen college. And sir Edward Herbert, the chief justice, who in sir Edward Hales's case determined for the king's dispensing power, writes thus very decidedly in favour of the college rights: "In cases
" wherein the rights of the
" subjects have been brought
" in question, how strictly I
" have kept to that substantial
" difference taken by the house
" of commons (in 1628), that
" though the king in laws of
" government, in penal laws
" of a publick nature, has a
" power to dispense in parti-
" cular cases, yet he cannot
" dispense with laws which
" vest any the least right or
" property in any of his sub-
" jects, will appear by the opi-
" nion I gave in the case of
" Magdalen college, for the
" truth of which I appeal to
" all that know any thing of
" the transactions in that case,

" wherein, when the king's
" right against the college
" was endeavoured to be as-
" serted by a dispensation
" granted by himself, I utterly
" denied that dispensation to
" be of any force at all, be-
" cause there was a particular
" right and interest vested in
" the members of that college,
" as there is in the members
" of many other corporations,
" of choosing their own head."

A short Account of the Authorities in Law, &c. in Sir Edward Hales's Case, by Sir Edward Herbert, p. 29. But admitting the power of dispensing with the laws to have been vested in the crown to the fullest extent, yet the king used this prerogative not so much for the ease or benefit of individuals, as for the subversion of those laws, and of what was established by them.)

^t (Among the accounts extenuating in some measure the blame attached to James for his conduct in this and other ill measures of his reign, the following statement may be reckoned. Dr. Smith's relation referred to above, p. 172, is this: "Dr. Ironside
" (the vice-chancellor) told
" me, that in a discourse the
" king was pleased to hold
" with him, when he was in
" Oxford in September, about
" our college, his majesty ag-

1687. It did so inflame the church party and the clergy, that they sent over very pressing messages upon

“gravated the undutifulness
“and rudeness of the fellows
“in not petitioning him and
“representing our case to him
“before the election. The
“vice-chancellor interposing
“said, that he heard that we
“had done it. The king answered, Ay, after the election
“was over. This seemed demonstrative, that the earl of
“Sunderland did not deliver
“our petition in good time,
“and which I concluded fully
“was the reason why baron
“Jenner and the bishop of
“Chester were so inquisitive
“to know the exact time from
“me.” Biog. Britan. vol. VI.
Artic. J. Smith, p. 3729, where
is added in the margin, “This
“he apprehended from the
“first, which was the reason
“of his insisting so much as
“he did upon petitioning the
“king a second time before
“they proceeded to an election.” As to the time of
delivering the petition, Dr.
Smith further says in his Narrative inserted at length in
Howell’s *State Trials*, vol. XII.
that he presented it to lord
Sunderland on Sunday the
tenth of April, before his lordship went to the privy council;
and that Jeffries the lord
chancellor, who had been present at the council during the
whole sitting, told Dr. Smith’s
friend, sir Theodore de Vaux,
on the day following in answer
to a question made at Smith’s
suggestion, that no petition

had been presented, that the
fellows were too proud to petition, p. 54, 55. On Wednesday the 13th lord Sunderland
informed Smith that the king
expected to be obeyed. The
election did not take place till
Friday the fifteenth.

It is in our power to produce
the following recital of a conversation between the king
and Dr. Ironside, the vice-chancellor at the time of the
king’s visit to Oxford, from a
paper in the handwriting, as
appears both by external and
internal evidence, of the vice-chancellor himself.

*The Vice-chancellor of Oxon’s
Discourse with his Majesty,
Sept. 5, 1687.*

King.—*The clergy of the church [of] England have been commonly blamed for their want of humility: I advise them to wipe off the charge, and learn to be more humble. There be wolves among you in sheep’s clothing; men that pretend to be of the church of England, yet act contrary to it, who are not so obedient to me, as your church pretends. I do verily believe that I have at this time no enemy in the kingdom, but among those who call themselves church of England men.*

Vice-ch.—*Your majesty may please to remember that none of them were exclusioners.*

King.—*Your Magdalen college men are church of England men, yet they have used me very unhandsomely, in denying my*

it to the prince of Orange, desiring that he would interpose, and espouse the concerns of the church; 1687.

mandate, and choosing a president in contempt of me.

Vice-ch.—*We do not say, but that we here of this place depend upon the will and pleasure of your majesty and the kings of England. Nor can we say, but that your majesty can dissolve our constitutions by your breath: but this withall must be acknowledged, that standing these constitutions, and while our statutes do continue, (which have been confirmed to us by your majesty's royal predecessors,) and which are bound upon each of us by an oath, we cannot go against them, without incurring the heinous sin of perjury. We must observe our statutes, being obliged thereunto by oath, and no power under heaven can dispense with these oaths.*

King.—*Your church are to blame for being offended at my giving indulgence to tender consciences, since I protect you as well as ease them. You do not as you would be done by. Your eye is evil, because mine is good.*

Vice-ch.—*The allowing every person in their several fancies about religion must have horrible ill consequences: must bring in blasphemies, atheisms, and such monstrous opinions, as no Christian state ought in conscience to admit. When about a month since I waited on your majesty as chaplain, I was amazed to see what countenance your majesty gave that mon-*

strous and scarce Christian sect, called the Family of Love, and with what respect you received an address from them.

His majesty saying nothing, lord Sunderland replied, Mr. vice-chancellor, The king, in receiving addresses, does not inquire into nor allow the ill opinions of those which present them; but looks on them only as respects of such a part of his subjects, and upon that account is pleased to receive them so graciously.

King.—*In this university I hear that in sermons and in your writings you ridicule my religion and abuse it, charging it with idolatry. In which case I cannot but esteem my self abused too.*

Vice-ch.—*Any reflection on your majesty I neither know of nor would allow. And I hope no occasion hath been given by us for such an information.*

As to our presses, I hope your majesty allows the university in a sober way to defend the religion it professes, especially when first attacked, as is our case. A press which is not under our power did begin with us, and vend several pieces against the established religion; in which case it did become us and was our duty to give some answer to them: every thing that hath or shall come from that press, hath or will receive an answer from hence, and perhaps with more sharpness than will be acceptable. But in this case

1687. and that he would break upon it, if the king would not redress it. This I did not see in their letters^u.

the aggressor must thank himself.

In another old hand the following words are added:

The vice-chancellor asked the king how he could trust the fanatics, and put them into places of trust. He answered, that he therefore kept up his army.

A denial by the king of knowing that the college had petitioned does not appear in the above statement; but it occurred either in some other conversation during the king's stay at Oxford between him and the vice-chancellor; or it was omitted, as the king's reliance on his army against the sectaries appears to have originally been; or the vice-chancellor purposely avoided mentioning what was in king James's favour, whose measures he had actively and ardently opposed. He was made a bishop immediately after the revolution. For no one ought to doubt the veracity of Smith, that signal martyr to conscience, who was fated to be a loser, whichever side was uppermost. Besides this, the king's ignorance of the first petition of the college was talked of at the time, and ascribed to the management of either Sunderland or Jeffries.)

^u (Perhaps it would have been difficult for the prince to have shown letters of invitation from any of the clergy, with the exception of Comp-

ton bishop of London, and Trelawney of Bristol, who both of them signed afterwards the celebrated invitation. Calamy, indeed, in the continuation of his *Account of Silenced and Ejected Ministers*, reports, that another bishop, Lloyd, bishop of St. Asaph, a little time before the revolution, acquainted Mr. Owen, a dissenting minister in Shropshire, that an invitation had been sent to the prince of Orange by many lords and gentlemen, of which number he owned himself to be one. Dedication of vol. I. p. xxxi. This prelate seems to have had something of the kind in his thoughts, when he uses these expressions in a letter addressed in April, 1688, to the learned Mr. Dodwell, on the election of the latter to the professorship of history in the university of Oxford: "If ever I saw the hand of God in an election, I see it in this, and from hence I conclude and believe, next to what I believe *de fide*, that God has some great work to perform by you in this place. I truly believe you are ordered for the reformation of this university; and that in order to a greater work that is to follow." Manuscript Letters from the bishops Lloyd and Fell to Dodwell, in the possession of his great grandson. Compare also the conversation Lloyd had about that time with the

Those were of such importance, since the writing 1687.
 them might have been carried to high treason,
 that the prince did not think fit to shew them.
 But he often said, he was pressed by many of those,
 who were afterwards his bitterest enemies, to
 engage in their quarrel. When that was commu-
 nicated to me, I was still of opinion, that, though
 this was indeed an act of despotical and arbitrary
 power, yet I did not think it struck at the whole:
 so that it was not, in my opinion, a lawful case of
 resistance: and I could not concur in a quarrel
 occasioned by such a single act, though the prece-
 dent set by it might go to every thing^x.

Now the king broke with the church of Eng-
 land. And, as he was apt to go warmly upon
 every provocation, he gave himself such liberties
 in discourse upon that subject, that it was plain,
 all the services they had done him, both in op-
 posing the exclusion, and upon his first accession
 to the crown, were forgot. Agents were now
 found out, to go among the dissenters, to persuade
 them to accept of the favour the king intended
 them, and to concur with him in his designs.

The dissenters were divided into four main The dis-
sensors
were much
courted by
the king.
 bodies. The presbyterians, the independents, the

learned Henry Wharton, re-
 corded by the latter in his
Latin Diary, p. 139, a copy of
 which is printed in D'Oyly's
Life of Archbishop Sancroft.
Is fausta omnia sperare jussit;
adeo plebis sibi animos injusti-
tia ac tyrannide exacerbasse
pontificios, ut omnes tumultu
facto arreptisque armis ex An-

glia quam citissime eliminaturi
essent, regemque ipsum, quod
factum nolumus, aut exilio aut
nece mulctaturi. But see an
 account of a disavowal of any
 invitation on the part of the
 other bishops in a Note below
 at p. 784, fol. edit.)

^x He was a better tory than
 I, if he spoke as he thought. S.

1687. anabaptists, and the quakers. The two former had not the visible distinction of different rites : and their depressed condition made, that the dispute about the constitution and subordination of churches, which had broken them when power was in their hands, was now out of doors : and they were looked on as one body, and were above three parts in four of all the dissenters. The main difference between these was, that the presbyterians seemed reconcilable to the church ; for they loved^x episcopal ordination and a liturgy, and upon some amendments^y seemed disposed to come 702 into the church ; and they liked the civil government and limited monarchy. But as the independents were for a commonwealth in the state, so they put all the power of the church in the people, and thought that their choice was an ordination : nor did they approve of set forms of worship. Both were enemies to this high prerogative that the king was assuming, and were very averse to popery. They generally were of a mind, as to the accepting the king's favour ; but were not inclined to take in the papists into a full toleration^z ; much less could they be prevailed on to concur in taking off the tests. The anabaptists

^x A damnable lie. S.

^y *Alterations* (it seems to me) might have been as proper a word, for a bishop of the church of England to have used upon that occasion, though not so agreeable to his brethren of Scotland. But the bishop's love to presbytery, and hatred to the church of England, peeps out almost in

every page of his book. D. Lord Dartmouth's ill will to our author is also apparent ; at Vol. iv. p. 1. of Burnet's History, he asserts, that the writer has published many things which he knew to be untrue. But see the Preface to that edition in 1833 with notes subjoined, p. xx.

^z Style. S.

were generally men of virtue and of an universal charity : and as they were far from being in any treating terms with the church of England, so nothing but an universal toleration could make them capable of favour or employments. The quakers had set up such a visible distinction in the matter of the hat, and saying *thou* and *thee*, that they had all as it were a badge fixed on them : so they were easily known. Among these Pen had the greatest credit, as he had a free access at court. To all these it was proposed, that the king designed the settling the minds of the different parties in the nation, and the enriching it by enacting a perpetual law, that should be passed with such solemnities as had accompanied the Magna Charta ; so that not only penal law should be for ever repealed, but that public employments should be opened to men of all persuasions, without any tests or oaths limiting them to one sort or party of men. There were many meetings among the leading men of the several sects.

It was visible to all men, that the courting them at this time was not from any kindness or good opinion that the king had of them. They had left the church of England, because of some forms in it, that they thought looked too like the church of Rome. They needed not to be told, that all the favour expected from popery was once to bring it in, under the colour of a general toleration, till it should be strong enough to set on a general persecution : and therefore, as they could not engage themselves to support such an arbitrary prerogative as was now made use of, so neither should they go into any engagements for popery.

1687.

Debates
and resolutions among
them.

1687. Yet they resolved to let the points of controversy alone, and leave those to the management of the clergy, who had a legal bottom to support them. They did believe, that this indignation against the church party, and this kindness to them, were things too unnatural to last long. So the more considerable among them^a resolved not to stand at too great a distance from the court, nor to provoke the king so far, as to give him cause to think
 703 they were irreconcilable to him, lest they should provoke him to make up matters on any terms with the church party. On the other hand, they resolved not to provoke the church party, or by any ill behaviour of theirs drive them into a reconciliation with the court. It is true, Pen shewed both a scorn of the clergy, and virulent spite against them, in which he had not many followers.

The army
 encamped
 at Houns-
 low-heath.

The king was so fond of his army, that he ordered them to encamp on Hounslow-heath, and to be exercised all the summer long. This was done with great magnificence, and at a vast expense: but that which abated the king's joy in seeing so brave an army about him was, that it appeared

^a They all complied most shamefully and publickly, as is well known. S. (The dissenters were not blamable for accepting a toleration; but that is not what Swift means; as to their acceptance of office, those indeed, who in their writings maintained the king's right to dispense with the laws, not in special cases only, but generally and universally, acted unconstitutionally and improvidently; and the regu-

lators of corporations, mentioned soon afterward by Burnet, were the agents in one of the most odious measures of the reign; but the main body of the dissenters appear to have kept aloof from the overtures of the court. Macaulay in his *History of England*, vol. ii. p. 225. relates, that all the addresses which could be obtained from them did not in six weeks amount to sixty.)

visibly, and on many occasions, that his soldiers had as great an aversion to his religion, as his other subjects had expressed. The king had a chapel in his camp, where mass was said : but so few went to it, and those few were treated by the rest with so much scorn, that it was not easy to bear it. It was very plain, that such an army was not to be trusted in any quarrel in which religion was concerned. 1687.

The few papists that were in the army were an unequal match to the rest. The heats about religion were like to breed quarrels : and it was once very near a mutiny. It was thought, that these encampments had a good effect on the army. They encouraged one another, and vowed they would stick together, and never forsake their religion. It was no small comfort to them, to see they had so few papists among them ; which might have been better disguised at a distance, than when they were all in view. A resolution was formed upon this at court to make recruits in Ireland, and to fill them up with Irish papists ; which succeeded as ill as all their other designs did, as shall be told in its proper place.

The king had for above a year managed his correspondence with Rome secretly. But now the priests resolved to drive the matter still more past reconciling. The correspondence with that court, while there was none at Rome with a public character, could not be decently managed, but by cardinal Howard's means. He was no friend to the Jesuits ; nor did he like their over driving matters. So they moved to the king to send an An ambassador sent to Rome.

1687. ambassador to Rome. This was high treason by law. Jefferies was very uneasy in it. But the king's power of pardoning had been much argued in the earl of Danby's case, and was believed to be one of the unquestionable rights of the crown. So he knew a safe way in committing crimes; which was, to take out pardons as soon as he had done illegal things.

The king's choice of Palmer, earl of Castlemain, was liable to great exception^b. For, as he was 704 believed to be a Jesuit, so he was certainly as hot and eager in all high notions as any of them could be. The Romans^c were amazed, when they heard that he was to be the person. His misfortunes were so eminent and public, that they, who take their measures much from astrology, and from the characters they think are fixed on men, thought it strange to see such a negotiation put in the hands of so unlucky a man. It was managed with great splendour, and at a vast charge^d.

He managed every thing unhappily.

He was unhappy in every step of it. He disputed with a nice sort of affectation every punctilio of the ceremonial. And, when the day set for his audience came, there happened to be such an extraordinary thunder, and such deluges of rain, as disgraced the show, and heightened the opinion of the ominousness of this embassy. After

^b Dutchess of Cleveland's husband. S.

^c Voltaire does not believe the moderns of Rome deserve this appellation. O.

^d See among my prints, for a representation of the pageantries of it. O. (Perhaps

a folio volume, adorned with many plates, which gives an account of this embassy, is intended; it was published first in Italian, by Michael Wright, chief steward of his excellency's house at Rome.)

this was over, he had yet many disputes with relation to the ceremony of his visits. The points he pressed were, first the making P. Renaldi of Este, the queen's uncle, a cardinal; in which he prevailed: and it was the only point in which he succeeded^e. He tried, if it was possible, to get father Petre to be made a cardinal. But the pope was known to be intractable in that point, having fixed it as a maxim not to raise any of that order to the purple. Count Mansfield told me, as he came from Spain, that our court had pressed the court of Spain to join their interest with ours at Rome for his promotion. They gave it out, that he was a German by birth, and undertook that he should serve the Austrian interest. They also promised the court of Madrid great assistance in other matters of the last importance, if they would procure this: adding, that this would prove the most effectual means for the conversion of England. Upon which the count told me, he was asked concerning father Petre. He, who had gone often to Spain through England, happened

^e Which was granted with great reluctance, it having been a standing maxim of the court of Rome, ever since Clement the VIIIth took Ferrara from Cæsar D'Este, never to contribute to the aggrandizing of that family; and I was told at Rome, the pope offered to make four cardinals at the king's nomination, if he would desist from those two. And they began to sus-

pect the influence the queen had over the king might engage him in the interests of her family, more than was consistent with their own, which was the reason they shewed so little concern for king James's misfortunes at the revolution. D. (The king also obtained of the pope an additional number of vicars apostolic for his communion.)

1687. to know that Jesuit ; and told them, he was no German, but an Englishman. They tried their strength at Rome for his promotion, but with no success.

The ambassador at Rome pressed cardinal Cibo much to put an end to the differences between the pope and the king of France, in the matter of the franchises, that it might appear that the pope had a due regard to a king that had extirpated heresy, and to another king who was endeavouring to bring other kingdoms into the sheepfold. What must the world say, if two such kings, like whom no ages had produced any, should be neglected and ill used at Rome for some punctilios? He added, that, if these matters were settled, and if the pope would enter into concert with them, they would set about the destroying heresy every where, and would begin with the
705 Dutch ; upon whom, he said, they would fall without any declaration of war, treating them as a company of rebels and pirates, who had not a right, as free states and princes have, to a formal denunciation of war. Cibo, who was then cardinal patron, was amazed at this, and gave notice of it to the imperial cardinals. They sent it to the emperor, and he signified it to the prince of Orange. It is certain, that one prince's treating with another to invade a third gives a right to that third prince to defend himself, and to prevent those designs. And, since what an ambassador says is understood as said by the prince whose character he bears, this gave the States a right to

make use of all advantages that might offer themselves^f. But they had yet better grounds to justify their proceedings, as will appear in the sequel. 1687.

When the ambassador saw that his remonstrances to the cardinal patron were ineffectual, he demanded an audience of the pope. And there he lamented, that so little regard was had to two such great kings. He reflected on the pope, as shewing more zeal about temporal concerns than the spiritual; which, he said, gave scandal to all Christendom. He concluded, that, since he saw intercessions made in his master's name were so little considered, he would make haste home: to which the pope made no other answer, but, *lei è padrone*, he might do as he pleased. But he sent one after the ambassador, as he withdrew from the audience, to let him know how much he was offended with his discourses, that he received no such treatment from any person, and that the ambassador was to expect no other private audience. Cardinal Howard did what he could to soften matters. But the ambassador was so entirely in the hands of the Jesuits, that he had little regard to any thing that the cardinal suggested. And so he left Rome after a very expensive, but insignificant embassy.

The pope sent in return a nuncio, Dada, now a cardinal. He was highly civil in all his deportment. But it did not appear that he was a man of great depth, nor had he power to do much.

^f Sophistry. S.

^g (" However the world has
" been imposed on to believe,
" that the pope's nuncio at the

" English court, who is since
" made a cardinal, was an instrument to push on things
" to extremities, yet certain it

Pope Innocent's character.

1687. The pope was a jealous and fearful man, who had no knowledge of any sort, but in the matters of the revenue and of money: for he was descended from a family that was become rich by dealing in banks. And, in that respect, it was a happiness to the papacy that he was advanced: for it was so involved in vast debts by a succession of many wasteful pontificates, that his frugal management came in good time to set those matters in better order. It was known that he did not so much as understand Latin. I was told at Rome, that when he was made cardinal, he had a master to teach him to pronounce that little Latin that he 706 had occasion for at high masses. He understood nothing in divinity, so that I remembered what a Jesuit at Venice had said to me, whom I met sometimes at the French ambassador's there, when we were talking of the pope's infallibility: he said, that being in Rome during Altieri's pontificate, who lived some years in a perfect dotage, he confessed it required a very strong faith to believe him infallible: but he added pleasantly, the harder it was to believe it, the act of faith was the more meritorious. The submitting to pope Innocent's infallibility was a very implicit act of faith, when

"is, he had too much good sense to approve of all the measures that were taken; and therefore desired often to be recalled, lest he should be thought to have a hand in them." *Welwood's Memoirs*, p. 184. (Dr. Lingard observes, "that the earl of Rochester" who advised

moderate measures "was in some measure supported by Adda the papal representative, who though he took no prominent part in politics, secretly sought and followed the counsels of the Spanish ambassador the friend of Rochester." *Hist. of England*, x. p. 197.)

all appearances were so strongly against it. The pope hated the Jesuits, and expressed a great esteem for the Jansenists; not that he understood the ground of the difference, but they were enemies to the Jesuits, and were ill looked on by the court of France. He understood the business of the regale a little better, it relating to the temporalities of the church. And therefore he took all those under his protection who refused to submit to it. Things seemed to go far towards a breach between the two courts: especially after the articles, which were set out by the assembly of the clergy of France in the year 1682, in favour of the councils of Constance and Basile, in opposition to the papal pretensions. The king of France, who was not accustomed to be treated in such a manner, sent many threatening messages to Rome, which alarmed the cardinals so much, that they tried to mollify the pope. But it was reported at Rome, that he made a noble answer to them, when they asked him what he could do, if so great a king should send an army to fall upon him? He said, he could suffer martyrdom^h. 1687.

^h The king of France gave a great sum of money to the French minims at Rome, to make a noble ascent and a new front to their convent; and his own statue on horseback was to have been placed on the top of the ascent; which the pope being informed of, sent them word they might embellish their convent as much as they pleased in all other respects, but he was sovereign in Rome, and should not suffer any other prince's statue to be erected in his town. They pleaded in answer, that Henry the IVth's statue was there already before St. John Lateran's church, (which had been put there in memory of his conversion,) and that Lewis the XIVth had merited much more from the see of Rome than ever he had done. The pope made no reply, but ordered Henry the IVth's statue to be imme-

1687.

Disputes
about the
franchises.

He was so little terrified with all those threatenings, that he had set on foot a dispute about the franchises. In Rome, all those of a nation put themselves under the protection of their ambassador, and are upon occasions of ceremony his cortege. These were usually lodged in his neighbourhood, pretending that they belonged to him. So that they exempted themselves from the orders and justice of Rome, as a part of the ambassador's family. And that extent of houses or streets in which they lodged was called the franchises; for in it they pretended they were not subject to the government of Rome. This had made these houses to be well filled, not only with those of that nation, but with such Romans as desired to be covered with that protection. Rome was now much sunk from what it had been: so that these franchises were become so great a part of the city, that the privileges of those that lived in them were giving every day new disturbances to the course of justice, and were the common sanctuaries of criminals. So the pope resolved to reduce the privileges of ambassadors to their own families, within
707 their own palaces. He first dealt with the emperor's and the king of Spain's ambassadors: and brought them to quit their pretensions to the franchises, but with this provision, that, if the French did not the same, they would return to them. So now the pope was upon forcing the French to submit to the same methods. The pope

diately taken down, and put was at Rome,) upon which the
in a corner of the church whole design was dropped. D.
porch, (where it stood when I

said, his nuntio or legate at Paris had no privilege but for his family, and for those that lived in his palace. The French rejected this with great scorn. They said, the pope was not to pretend to an equality with so great a king. He was the common father of Christendom: so those who came thither on those reasons, as to the centre of the unity, were not to be put on the level with the ambassadors that passed between sovereign princes. Upon this the king of France pretended that he would maintain all the privileges and franchises that his ambassadors were possessed of. This was now growing up to be the matter of a new quarrel and of fresh disputes between those courts.

The English ambassador being so entirely in the French interests, and in the confidence of the Jesuits, he was much less considered at Rome than he thought he ought to have beenⁱ. The truth is, the Romans, as they have very little sense of religion, so they considered the reduction of England as a thing impracticable. They saw no prospect of any profits like to arise in any of their offices by bulls or compositions: and this was the notion that they had of the conversion of nations,

ⁱ One great reason of their dislike to lord Castlemain was the disrespect he shewed to cardinal Howard, who was much beloved in Rome upon the account of his strict life, great affability, and high birth, which were as well known as lord Castlemain's incivility to him, of which, Don (perhaps Dom) Gulielmo, who was one of the cardinal's chaplains,

told me several particulars that were extremely offensive: but he said it was thought the Jesuits put him upon it, the cardinal having had some disputes with them, though he had built part of the English college, which he lived in: but they knew he could not carry it away with him, and that he had nothing more to give them. D.

1687. chiefly as it brought wealth and advantages to them.

Queen
Christina's
character of
some popes.

I will conclude all that I shall say in this place of the affairs of Rome with a lively saying of queen Christina to my self at Rome. She said, it was certain that the church was governed by the immediate care and providence of God: for none of the four popes that she had known since she came to Rome had common sense. She added, they were the first and the last of men. She had given her self entirely for some years to the study of astrology: and upon that she told me, the king would live yet many years, but added that he would have no son^k.

I come, from the relation of this embassy to Rome, to give an account of other negotiations. The king found Skelton managed his affairs in Holland with so little sense, and gave such an universal distaste, that he resolved to change him. But he had been so servilely addicted to all his interests, that he would not discourage him. And, because all his concerns with the court of France were managed with Barillon, the French ambassador at London, he was sent to Paris.

D'Albeville
sent envoy
to Holland.

708 The king found out one White, an Irishman, who had been long a spy of the Spaniards. And when they did not pay his appointments well, he accepted of the title of marquis d'Albeville from them in part of payment. And then he turned to the French, who paid their tools more punctually. But, though he had learned the little arts of corrupting under secretaries, and had found out some

^k A second proof of the pretender's bastardy. *Cole*.

secrets by that way, which made him pass for a good spy; yet, when he came to negotiate matters in a higher form, he proved a most contemptible and ridiculous man, who had not the common appearances either of decency or of truth¹. 1687.

He had orders, before he entered upon business with the prince or princess, to ask of them, not only to forbid me the court, but to promise to see me no more. The king had writ two violent letters against me to the princess. She trusted me so far, that she shewed them to me: and was pleased to answer them according to the hints that I suggested. But now it was put so home, that this was to be complied with, or a breach was immediately to follow upon it. So this was done. And they were both so true to their promise, that I saw neither the one nor the other till a few days before the prince set sail for England. The prince sent Dykvelt and Halewyn constantly to me, with all the advertisements that came from England. So I had the whole secret of English affairs still brought me.

That which was first resolved on was, to send Dykvelt to England with directions how to talk with all sorts of people: to the king, to those of the church, and to the dissenters. I was ordered to draw his instructions, which he followed very closely. He was ordered to expostulate decently, but firmly, with the king upon the methods he was pursuing, both at home and abroad; and to

I was upon the king's pressing instances forbid to see the prince and princess of Orange.

¹ (This person is said to have betrayed his master to the prince of Orange, and the prince himself to the king of France. See Macpherson's History of Great Britain, vol. I. p. 510.)

1687. see if it was possible to bring him to a better understanding with the prince. He was also to assure all the church party, that the prince would ever be firm to the church of England, and to all our national interests. The clergy, by the methods in which they corresponded with him, which I suppose was chiefly by the bishop of London's means, had desired him to use all his credit with the dissenters, to keep them from going into the measures of the court; and had sent over very positive assurances, that, in case they stood firm now to the common interest, they would in a better time come into a comprehension of such as could be brought into a conjunction with the church, and to a toleration of the rest. They had also desired him to send over some of the preachers, whom the violence of the former years had driven to Holland; and to prevail effectually with them to oppose any false brethren, whom the court might gain to deceive the rest: which the prince had done. And to many of them he gave

709 such presents, as enabled them to pay their debts, and to undertake the journey. Dykvelt had orders to press them all to stand off; and not to be drawn in by any promises the court might make them, to assist them in the elections of parliament. He was also instructed to assure them of a full toleration; and likewise of a comprehension, if possible, whensoever the crown should devolve on the princess. He was to try all sorts of people, and to remove the ill impressions that had been given them of the prince: for the church party was made believe he was a presbyterian, and the dis-

senters were possessed with a conceit of his being arbitrary and imperious. Some had even the impudence to give out that he was a papist. But the ill terms in which the king and he lived put an end to those reports at that time. Yet they were afterwards taken up, and managed with much malice to create a jealousy of him^m. Dykvelt was not gone off, when D'Albeville came to the Hague. He did all he could to divert the journey: for he knew well Dykvelt's way of penetrating into secrets, he himself having been often employed by him, and well paid for several discoveries made by his means. 1687.

D'Albeville assured the prince and the States, that the king was firmly resolved to maintain his alliance with them: that his naval preparations were only to enable him to preserve the peace of Europe: for he seemed much concerned to find that the States had such apprehensions of these, that they were putting themselves in a condition not to be surprised by them. In his secret negotiations with the prince and princess, he began

The negotiations between the king and the prince.

^m I was told at Vienna by a man of great quality, (the earl of Carlingford, who went by the name of count Taaf in Germany, and was in great favour with the emperor Leopold,) that the emperor Leopold (who was extremely bigoted) could not be brought to approve of the prince of Orange's expedition, till he had been assured that the prince was at least no enemy to the Romish religion, and

would be better able to protect the catholics in England than king James; who had so provoked the nation, that they ran great risk of being destroyed totally: and I was afterwards told at Rome that the same assurances had been given to the pope, by an agent the prince kept there for his German affairs. D. (See below, p. 773. and notes at p. 12. and p. 228. vol. II. folio edit. of Burnet's Hist.)

1687. with very positive assurances, that the king intended never to wrong them in their right of succession: that all that the king was now engaged in was only to assert the rights of the crown, of which they would reap the advantage in their turn: the test was a restraint on the king's liberty, and therefore he was resolved to have it repealed: and he was also resolved to lay aside all the penal laws in matters of religion: they saw too well the advantages that Holland had by the liberty of conscience that was settled among them, to oppose him in this particular: the king could not abandon men, because they were of his own religion, who had served him well, and had suffered only on his account, and on the account of their conscience. He told them how much the king condemned the proceedings in France: and that he spoke of that king as a poor bigot, who was governed by the archbishop of Paris, and Madame de Maintenon, whereas he knew Pere de la Chaise had opposed the persecution as long as he could. But the king hated those maxims: and therefore
710 he received the refugees very kindly, and had given orders for a collection of charity over the kingdom for their relief.

This was the substance both of what D'Albeville said to the prince and princess, and of what the king himself said to Dykvelt upon those subjects. At that time the king thought he had made a majority of the house of commons sure: and so he seemed resolved to have a session of parliament in April. And of this D'Albeville gave the prince positive assurances. But the king

had reckoned wrong: for many of those who had been with him in his closet were either silent, or had answered him in such respectful words, that he took these for promises. But, when they were more strictly examined, the king saw his error: and so the sitting of the parliament was put off. 1687.

To all these propositions the prince and the princess, and Dykvelt in their name, answered, that they were fixed in a principle against persecution in matters of conscience: but they could not think it reasonable to let papists in to sit in parliament, or to serve in public trusts: the restless spirit of some of that religion, and of their clergy in particular, shewed they could not be at quiet till they were the mastersⁿ: and the power they had over the king's spirit, in making him forget what he had promised upon his coming to the crown, gave but too just a ground of jealousy: it appeared, that they could not bear any restraints, nor remember past services longer than those who did them could comply in every thing with that which was desired of them: they thought, the prerogative as limited by law was great enough: and they desired no such exorbitant power as should break through all laws: they feared, that such an attack upon the constitution might rather drive the nation into a commonwealth: they thought the surest as well as the best way was to govern according to law: the church of England had given the king signal proofs of their affection and fidelity; and had complied with him in every

ⁿ All sects are of that spirit. S.

1687. thing, till he came to touch them in so tender a point as the legal security they had for their religion: their sticking to that was very natural: and the king's taking that ill from them was liable to great censure: the king, if he pleased to improve the advantages he had in his hand, might be both easy and great at home, and the arbiter of all affairs abroad: but he was prevailed on by the importunities of some restless priests to embroil all his affairs to serve their ends: they could never consent to abolish those laws, which were the best, and now the only fence of that religion which they themselves believed true. This was the substance of their answers to all the pressing messages that were often repeated by D'Albeville.

711 And upon this occasion the princess spoke so often and with such firmness to him, that he said, she was more intractable on those matters than the prince himself. Dykvelt told me, he argued often with the king on all these topics: but he found him obstinately fixed in his resolution. He said, he was the head of the family, and the prince ought to comply with him; but that he had always set himself against him. Dykvelt answered, that the prince could not carry his compliance so far, as to give up his religion to his pleasure; but that in all other things he had shewed a very ready submission to his will: the peace of Nimeguen, of which the king was guarantee, was openly violated in the article relating to the principality of Orange: yet, since the king did not think fit to espouse his interests in that matter, he had been silent, and had made no protestations upon

it : so the king saw, that he was ready to be silent under so great an injury, and to sacrifice his own concerns, rather than disturb the king's affairs. To this the king made no answer. The earl of Sunderland, and the rest of the ministry, pressed Dykvelt mightily, to endeavour to bring the prince to concur with the king. And they engaged to him, that, if that were once settled, the king would go into close measures with him against France. But he put an end to all those propositions. He said, the prince could never be brought to hearken to them^o. 1687.

^o (Lady Sunderland, the wife of James's prime minister, (see Contin. of Mackintosh's *Hist.* p. 389,) "addressed a letter with extraordinary precautions of secrecy to the prince, informing him of a scheme laid by the government, of which her husband was the head, 'to flatter monsieur Dyckvelt with a great many fine things, that there shall be an entire union between England and Holland, &c., and for this, she says, they ask you to bid monsieur Dyckvelt and monsieur Cithors to declare in your name, that you wish the parliament would take off these laws, and that you think it reasonable they should do so. By this means they think they can compass their point; which when done, I think 'tis plain the article upon your part is upon record, theirs only verbal. Your highness is

"the best judge of the likelihood of its being performed.'"
 "Dalrymple, Append. Part I. p. 211." Not long before this time, in consideration of the earl her husband's influencing James to declare his resolution not to enter into any engagement, which in its consequences might probably draw him into hostilities against France, "Louis granted to Sunderland an annual pension of 60,000 livres (2700*l.*) then on the representation of that wily statesman he consented to pay it half-yearly, in advance; and afterwards on more than one occasion, he doubled the amount, to mark his sense of the distinguished services rendered him by the English minister. Barrillon, 26. Nov. 6. Dec. 18. Fev." Lingard's *History of England*, vol. X. ch. 2. p. 202. The earl was a deep gambler, and had occasion for

1687. At this time a great discovery was made of the intentions of the court by the Jesuits of Liege, who, in a letter that they wrote to their brethren in Friburg in Switzerland, gave them a long account of the affairs of England. They told them, that the king was received into a communication of the merits of their order: that he expressed great joy at his becoming a son of the society; and professed, he was as much concerned in all their interests as in his own: he wished they could furnish him with many priests to assist him in the conversion of the nation, which he was resolved to bring about, or to die a martyr in endeavouring it; and that he would rather suffer death for carrying on that, than live ever so long and happy without attempting it. He said, he must make haste in this work: otherwise, if he should die before he had compassed it, he would leave them worse than he found them. They added, among many particulars, that, when one of them kneeled down to kiss his hand, he took him up, and said, since he was a priest, he ought rather to kneel to him, and to kiss his hand. And, when one of them was lamenting that his next heir was an heretic, he said, God would provide an heir^p.

712 The Jesuits at Friburg shewed this about. And one of the ministers, on whom they were taking some pains, and of whom they had some hopes, had got a sight of it. And he obtained leave to

the money. Lady Sunderland in a letter to Henry Sidney intimates, that he loses five thousand pounds in a night, à la basset. Sydney's *Diary*,

vol. II. p. 100.)

p A third lie in order to prepare the way to the grand one. *Cole*.

take a copy of it, pretending that he would make good use of it. He sent a copy of it to Heidegger, the famous professor of divinity at Zurich: and from him I had it. Other copies of it were likewise sent, both from Geneva and Switzerland. One of those was sent to Dykvelt; who upon that told the king, that his priests had other designs, and were full of those hopes, that gave jealousies which could not be easily removed: and he named the Liege letter, and gave the king a copy of it. He promised to him he would read it; and he would soon see, whether it was an imposture made to make them more odious, or not. But he never spoke of it to him afterwards. This, Dykvelt thought, was a confessing that the letter was no forgery^q. Thus Dykvelt's negotiation at London, and D'Albeville's at the Hague, ended without any effect on either side.

But, if his treating with the king was without success, his management of his instructions was

Dykvelt's
conduct in
England.

^q (This letter, said to be translated from the Latin, is to be seen in Echard's History of England, who indeed supposes it to be genuine; but it appears, from several passages in it, to have been forged, in order to make the king and his measures still more odious. Since this was written, it has been found, that the letter is inserted also in the first volume of Cogan's Collection of Tracts, p. 249, where its authenticity is stated to be doubtful. As a specimen of the false news circulated in Holland respecting king James's conduct, we

will give the following extract from a letter of sir William Denholm to sir Patrick Hume, dated from the Hague and from Leyden in January of this year. He was one of the engagers in the earl of Argyle's expedition. "The duke of Beaufort is put off the lieutenancy of the west of England; Dartmouth and Fever-sham from their commands; which shews that English *papists* are too narrow for the king's business." *Papers of the Earls of Marchmont*, vol. III. p. 72.)

1687. more prosperous. He desired, that those who wished well to their religion and their country would meet together, and concert such advices and advertisements, as might be fit for the prince to know, that he might govern himself by them. The marquis of Halifax, and the earls of Shrewsbury, Devonshire, Danby, and Nottingham, the lords Mordaunt, and Lumley, Herbert and Russel among the admirals, and the bishop of London, were the persons chiefly trusted. And upon the advices that were sent over by them the prince governed all his motions. They met often at the earl of Shrewsbury's. And there they concerted matters, and drew the declaration on which they advised the prince to engage^r.

A proclamation of indulgence sent to Scotland.

In this state things lay for some months. But the king resolved to go on in his design of breaking through the laws. He sent a proclamation of indulgence to Scotland in February. It set forth in the preamble, that the king had an absolute power vested in him, so that all his subjects were bound to obey him without reserve: by virtue of this power, the king repealed all the severe laws that were passed in his grandfather's name during his infancy: he with that took off all disabilities that were by any law laid on his Roman catholic subjects, and made them capable of all employ-

^r (It is necessary to except the lords Halifax and Nottingham from those who drew up the declaration; for as the Continuator of Mackintosh's History of the Revolution remarks, if the declaration be that which the prince of Orange

afterwards put forth, it could not have been drawn and sanctioned by those who refused to sign the invitation which preceded it. See below p. 764, folio edit. of this reign by Burnet.)

ments and benefices: he also slackened all the laws made against the moderate presbyterians: and promised he would never force his subjects by any invincible necessity to change their religion: and he repealed all laws imposing tests on those who held any employments: instead of which he set up a new one, by which they should renounce all the principles of rebellion, and should oblige themselves to maintain the king in this his absolute power against all mortals. 1687.

This was published in Scotland, to make way for that which followed it some months after in England. It was strangely drawn, and liable to much just censure. The king by this raised his power to a pitch, not only of suspending, but of repealing laws, and of enacting new ones by his own authority. His claiming an absolute power, to which all men were bound to obey without reserve, was an invasion of all that was either legal or sacred. The only precedent that could be found for such an extraordinary pretension, was in the declaration that Philip the second of Spain sent by the duke of Alva into the Netherlands, in which he founded all the authority that he committed to that bloody man on the absolute power that rested in him. Yet in this the king went further than Philip, who did not pretend that the subjects were bound to obey without reserve. Every prince that believes the truth of religion must confess, that there are reserves in the obedience of their subjects, in case their commands should be contrary to the laws of God. The requiring all persons that should be capable

Which was
much cen-
sured.

1687. of employments to swear to maintain this, was to make them feel their slavery too sensibly. The king's promising to use *no invincible necessity* to force his subjects to change their religion, shewed that he allowed himself a very large reserve in this grace that he promised his subjects; though he allowed them none in their obedience. The laws that had passed during king James's minority had been often ratified by himself after he was of age. And they had received many subsequent confirmations in the succeeding reigns; and one in the king's own reign. And the test that was now taken away was passed by the present king, when he represented his brother. Some took also notice of the word *moderate presbyterian*, as very ambiguous^s.

The court finding that so many objections lay against this proclamation, (that it seemed penned on purpose to raise new jealousies^t;) let it fall; and sent down another some months after, that

^s ("There are a sort of people there tolerated, that will be very hardly found out: and these are the *moderate* presbyterians. Now, as some say, that there are very few of those people in Scotland that deserve this character, so it is hard to tell what it amounts to; and the calling any of them *immoderate*, cuts off all their share in this grace. Moderation is a quality that lies in the mind; and how this will be found out, I cannot so readily guess. If a standard had been given of opin-

ions or practices, then one could have known how this might have been distinguished; but as it lies, it will not be easy to make the discrimination; and the declaring them all *immoderate*, shuts them out quite." *Some Reflections on his Majesty's Proclamation*, sect. 5. p. 12. ably and judiciously written.)

^t (It was probably so designed by Stewart, or some other traitorous adviser; but wrong was done by the king to the constitution, the proclamation being authorised by him.)

was more cautiously worded; only absolute power was so dear to them, that it was still asserted in the new one. By it, full liberty was granted to all presbyterians to set up conventicles in their own way. They did all accept of it without pretending any scruples. And they magnified this, as an extraordinary stroke of providence, that a prince, from whom they expected an increase of the severities under which the laws had brought them, should thus of a sudden allow them such an unconfined liberty. But they were not so blind, 714 as not to see what was aimed at by it. They made addresses upon it full of acknowledgments, and of protestations of loyalty. Yet, when some were sent among them, pressing them to dispose all their party to concur with the king in taking away the tests and penal laws, they answered them only in cold and general words.

In April the king set out a declaration of tolera-
 tion and liberty of conscience for England. But it was drawn up in much more modest terms than the Scottish proclamations had been. In the preamble, the king expressed his aversion to persecution on the account of religion, and the necessity that he found of allowing his subjects liberty of conscience, in which he did not doubt the concurrence of his parliament: he renewed his promise of maintaining the church of England, as it was by law established: but with this he suspended all penal and sanguinary laws in matters of religion: and, since the service of all his subjects was due to him by the laws of nature, he declared them all equally capable of employments, and suppressed

A declaration for toleration in England.

1687. all oaths or tests that limited this: in conclusion, he promised he would maintain all his subjects in all their properties, and particularly in the possession of the abbey lands.

This gave great offence to all true patriots, as well as to the whole church party. The king did now assume a power of repealing laws by his own authority: for though he pretended only to suspend them, yet no limitation was set to this suspension: so it amounted to a repeal, the laws being suspended for all time to come. The preamble, that pretended so much love and charity, and that condemned persecution, sounded strangely in the mouth of a popish prince. The king's saying that he did not doubt of the parliament's concurring with him in this matter seemed ridiculous: for it was visible by all the prorogations, that the king was but too well assured, that the parliament would not concur with him in it. And the promise to maintain the subjects in their possessions of the abbey lands, looked as if the design of setting up popery was thought very near being effected, since otherwise there was no need of mentioning any such thing.

Addresses
made upon
it.

Upon this a new set of addresses went round the dissenters. And they, who had so long reproached the church of England, as too courtly in their submissions and flatteries, seemed now to vie with them in those abject strains. Some of them, being penned by persons whom the court had gained, contained severe reflections on the clergy, and on their proceedings. They magnified the king's mercy and favour, and made great pro-

testations of fidelity and gratitude. Many promised to endeavour, that such persons should be chosen to serve in parliament, as should concur with the king in the enacting what he now granted so graciously. Few concurred in those addresses: and the persons that brought them up were mean and inconsiderable. Yet the court was lifted up with this. The king and his priests were delighted with these addresses out of measure: and they seemed to think that they had gained the nation, and had now conquered those who were hitherto their most irreconcilable enemies. The king made the cruelty of the church of England the common subject of discourse. He reproached them for setting on so often a violent persecution of the dissenters. He said, he had intended to have set on this toleration sooner; but that he was restrained by some of them, who had treated with him, and had undertaken to shew favour to those of his religion, provided they might be still suffered to vex the dissenters. He named the persons that had made those propositions to him. In which he suffered much in his honour: for as the persons denied the whole thing, so the freedom of discourse in any such treaty ought not to have been made use of to defame them.

But, to carry this further, and to give a public and an odious proof of the rigour of the ecclesiastical courts, the king ordered an inquiry to be made into all the vexatious suits into which dissenters had been brought in these courts, and into all the compositions that they had been forced to make to redeem themselves from further trouble;

The king's indignation against the church party.

1687. which, as was said, would have brought a scandalous discovery of all the ill practices of those courts. For the use that many that belonged to them had made of the laws with relation to the dissenters, was, to draw presents from such of them as could make them; threatening them with a process in case they failed to do that, and upon their doing it leaving them at full liberty to neglect the laws as much as they pleased. It was hoped at court, that this fury against the church would have animated the dissenters to turn upon the clergy with some of that fierceness with which they themselves had been lately treated. Some few of the hotter of the dissenters answered their expectations. Angry speeches and virulent books were published. Yet these were disowned by the wiser men among them: and the clergy, by a general agreement, made no answer to them. So that the matter was let fall, to the great grief of the popish party. Some of the bishops, that were gained by the court, carried their compliance to a shameful pitch: for they set on addresses of thanks to the king for the promise he had made in the late declaration of maintaining the church
716 of England; though it was visible that the intent of it was to destroy the church. Some few were drawn into this. But the bishop of Oxford had so ill success in his diocese, that he got but one single clergyman to concur with him in it. Some foolish men retained still their old peevishness. But the far greater part of the clergy began to open their eyes, and see how they had been engaged by ill meaning men, who were now laying

off the mask, into all the fury that had been driven on for many years by a popish party. And it was often said, that, if ever God should deliver them out of the present distress, they would keep up their domestic quarrels no more, which were so visibly and so artfully managed by our enemies to make us devour one another, and so in the end to be consumed one of another. And when some of those who had been always moderate told these, who were putting on another temper, that they would perhaps forget this as soon as the danger was over, they promised the contrary very solemnly. It shall be told afterwards, how well they remembered this^u. Now the bedchamber and drawingroom were as full of stories to the prejudice of the clergy, as they were formerly to the prejudice of the dissenters. It was said, they had been loyal as long as the court was in their interests, and was venturing all on their account; but as soon as this changed, they changed likewise.

The king, seeing no hope of prevailing on his parliament, dissolved it^x; but gave it out, that he would have a new one before winter. And, the queen being advised to go to the Bath for her health, the king resolved on a great progress through some of the western counties.

Before he set out, he resolved to give the pope's

^u False and spiteful. S.

^x (Dr. Lingard citing D'Adda's Papers observes, that the king contrary to the remonstrances of several in the council dissolved the parlia-

ment, that he might defeat the intrigue between William and the leaders of the opposition. *Hist. of England*, vol. x. c. 3. p. 283.)

The parliament was dissolved.

1687. nuncio a solemn reception at Windsor. He apprehended some disorder might have happened, if it had been done at London. He thought it below both his own dignity and the pope's, not to give the nuncio a public audience. This was a hard point for those who were to act a part in this ceremony; for, all commerce with the see of Rome being declared high treason by law, this was believed to fall within the statute. It was so apprehended by queen Mary. Cardinal Pool was obliged to stay in Flanders till all those laws were repealed. But the king would not stay for that. The duke of Somerset, being the lord of the bedchamber then in waiting, had advised with his lawyers: and they told him, he could not safely do the part that was expected of him in the audience. So he told the king, that he could not serve him upon that occasion; for he was assured it was against the law. The king asked him, if he did not know that he was above the law. The other answered, that, whatever the king might be, he himself was not above the law. The king expressed a high displeasure, and turned him out of all employments^y. The ceremony passed

The reception of the pope's nuncio.

^y Upon his refusal, the nuncio was introduced by the duke of Grafton, which was afterwards pleaded by the duke D'Aumont, as a precedent for an ambassador's being introduced by a duke; (the duke D'Aumont was ambassador from France about the time of the peace of Utrecht.) But I told him odious cases must never be put; and there was

no other instance; upon which he dropt his pretensions. D. (The following account of this affair is given by lord Lonsdale, in his privately printed Memoir of this Reign; and it is to be depended on, as his lordship received it from the duke of Somerset himself. "That the nuntio might have "all the honour done him "that was possible; it was

very heavily : and the compliment was pronounced 1687.
with so low a voice, that no person could hear it ;
which was believed done by concert.

When this was over, the king set out for his progress, and went from Salisbury all round as far as to Chester. In the places through which the king passed, he saw a visible coldness both in the nobility and gentry, which was not easily borne by a man of his temper. In many places they pretended occasions to go out of their countries. Some stayed at home. And those who waited on the king seemed to do it rather out of duty and respect, than with any cordial affection. The king on his part was very obliging to all that came near him, and most particularly to the dissenters, and to those who had passed long under the notion of commonwealth's men. He looked very graciously

The king
made a pro-
gress
through
many parts
of England.

“ resolved that a duke should
“ introduce him. The matter
“ was therefore proposed to
“ the duke of Somersett. He
“ humbly desired of the king
“ to be excused ; the king
“ asked him his reason ; the
“ duke told him he conceived
“ it to be against law ; to
“ which the king said, he
“ would pardon him. The
“ duke replied, he was no very
“ good lawyer, but he thought
“ he had heard it said, that a
“ pardon granted a person
“ offending under the assur-
“ ance of obtaining it was
“ void. This offended the
“ king extreamlie ; he said
“ publickly, he wondered at
“ his insolence ; and told the
“ duke he would make him

“ fear him as well as the laws.
“ To which the duke answer-
“ ed, that, as he was his sove-
“ raign, he should ever have
“ all the dutie and reverence
“ for his person that was due
“ from a subject to his prince,
“ but whilst he was no traitor
“ or criminal, he was so secure
“ in his justice, that he could
“ not fear him, as offenders
“ do. Notwithstanding the
“ extreme offence this matter
“ gave his majestie, yet out
“ of his goodness he was
“ pleased to tell the duke that
“ he would excuse him. And
“ yet within two days after
“ he was told positively the
“ king would be obeyed. He
“ urged the king's promise to
“ excuse him, but in vain.”

1687. on all that had been of the duke of Monmouth's party. He addressed his discourse generally to all sorts of people. He ran out on the point of liberty of conscience: he said, this was the true secret of the greatness and wealth of Holland. He was well pleased to hear all the ill-natured stories that were brought him of the violences committed of late, either by the justices of peace or by the clergy. He every where recommended to them the choosing such parliament men, as would concur with him in settling this liberty as firmly as the Magna Charta had been: and to this he never forgot to add the taking away the tests. But he received such cold and general answers, that he saw he could not depend on them. The king had designed to go through many more places: but the small success he had in those which he visited made him shorten his progress. He went and visited the queen at the Bath, where he stayed only a few days, two or three at most: and she continued on in her course of bathing. Many books were now writ for liberty of conscience: and, since all people saw what security the tests gave, these spoke of an equivalent to be offered, that should give a further security, beyond what could be pretended from the tests. It was never explained what was meant by this: so it was thought an artificial method to lay men asleep with a high sounding word. Some talked of new laws to secure civil liberty, which had been so much shaken by the practices of these last years, ever since the Oxford parliament. Upon this a very extravagant thing was given out, that

the king was resolved to set up a sort of a commonwealth: and the papists began to talk every where very high for public liberty, trying by that to recommend themselves to the nation. 1687.

When the king came back from his progress, 718 he resolved to change the magistracy in most of the cities of England. He began with London. ^{A change of the magistracy in London, and over England.} He not only changed the court of aldermen, but the government of many of the companies of the city: for great powers had been reserved in the new charters that had been given, for the king to put in and to put out at pleasure: but it was said at the granting them, that these clauses were put in only to keep them in a due dependance on the court, but that they should not be made use of, unless great provocation was given. Now all this was executed with great severity and contempt. Those who had stood up for the king during the debates about the exclusion, were now turned out with disgrace; and those who had appeared most violently against him were put in the magistracy, who took liberties now in their turn to insult their neighbours. All this turned upon the king, who was so given up to the humours of his priests, that he sacrificed both his honour and gratitude as they dictated. The new men, who were brought in, saw this too visibly to be much wrought on by it.

The king threw off his old party in too outrageous a manner ever to return to them again. But he was much surprised to find that the new mayor and aldermen took the test, and ordered the observation of gunpowder-treason day to be

1687. continued. When the sheriffs came according to custom to invite the king to the lord mayor's feast, he commanded them to go and invite the nuncio; which they did. And he went upon the invitation, to the surprise of all who saw it. But the mayor and aldermen disowned the invitation; and made an entry of it in their books, that the nuncio came without their knowledge. This the king took very ill. And upon it he said, he saw the dissenters were an ill-natured sort of people, that could not be gained. The king signified to the lord mayor, that he might use what form of worship he liked best in Guildhall chapel. The design in this was to engage the dissenters to make the first change from the established worship: and, if a presbyterian mayor should do this in one year, a popish mayor might do it in another. But the mayor put the decision of this upon persons against whom the court could have no exception. He sent to those to whom the governing of the diocese of London was committed during the suspension, and asked their opinion in it; which they could not but give in behalf of the established worship: and they added, that the changing it was against law. So this project miscarried: and the mayor, though he went sometimes to the meetings of the dissenters, yet he came often to church, and behaved himself more decently than was expected of him.

This change in the city not succeeding as the court had expected, did not discourage them from appointing a committee to examine the magistracy in the other cities, and to put in or out as they

saw cause for it. Some were putting the nation in hope that the old charters were to be restored. But the king was so far from that, that he was making every day a very arbitrary use of the power of changing the magistracy that was reserved in the new charters. These regulators, who were for most part dissenters gained by the court, went on very boldly; and turned men out upon every story that was made of them, and put such men in their room as they confided in. And in these they took their measures often so hastily, that men were put in in one week, and turned out in another ^z.

After this, the king sent orders to the lords lieutenants of the counties, to examine the gentlemen and freeholders upon three questions. The first was, whether, in case they should be chosen to serve in parliament, they would consent to repeal the penal laws, and those for the tests. The second was, whether they would give their vote for choosing such men as would engage to do that. And the third was, whether they would maintain the king's declaration. In most of the counties the lords lieutenants put those questions

Questions
put about
elections of
parliament.

^z ("As to the regulating of "own complaint to his lord-
"corporations, the king gave "ship, *How greatly he was im-*
"his opinion against it to the "portuned to give way to those
"very last; and I dare appeal "measures, from which in his
"to the earl of Bath, whose "own judgment he was so a-
"testimony is not to be sus- "verse." *Great Britain's Just*
"pected by this government, *Complaint for her late Mea-*
"if in his access to the king *sures*, &c. a tract attributed to
"about the regulations in sir James Montgomery; of
"those counties where he was whom see what is said by
"lieutenant, he did not dis- Burnet, vol. II. pp. 23. 35. 36.
"cover the truth of what I 61—63. folio edit.)

1687. in so careless a manner, that it was plain they did not desire they should be answered in the affirmative. Some went further, and declared themselves against them^a. And a few of the more resolute refused to put them. They said, this was the prelimiting and the packing of a parliament, which in its nature was to be free, and under no previous engagement. Many counties answered very boldly in the negative; and others refused to give any answer, which was understood to be equivalent to a negative. The mayor and most of the new aldermen of London refused to answer. Upon this many were turned out of all commissions.

This, as all the other artifices of the priests, had an effect quite contrary to what they promised themselves from it: for those who had resolved to oppose the court were more encouraged than ever, by the discovery now made of the sense of the whole nation in those matters. Yet such care was taken in naming the sheriffs and mayors that were appointed for the next year, that it was believed that the king was resolved to hold a parliament within that time, and to have such a house of commons returned, whether regularly chosen or not, as should serve his ends.

^a The earl of Northampton, who was then lord lieutenant of Warwickshire, told the gentlemen, he had received the king's commands to lay some proposals before them; which he thought it was his duty to obey: but at the same time thought himself obliged to acquaint them, that he did not

design to comply with any one of them himself, but would make a faithful report to his majesty of those that would, (as sir Charles Holte, who was present, told me,) upon which, lord Northampton was turned out, and lord Sunderland put in his place. D.

It was concluded, that the king would make 1687.
use both of his power and of his troops, either to 720
force elections, or to put the parliament under a
force when it should meet: for it was so positively
said, that the king would carry his point, and
there was so little appearance of his being able to
do it in a fair and regular way, that it was gene-
rally believed some very desperate resolution was
now taken up. His ministers were now so deeply
engaged in illegal things, that they were very
uneasy, and were endeavouring either to carry on
his designs with success, so as to get all settled in
a body that should carry the face and appearance
of a parliament, or at least to bring him to let all
fall, and to come into terms of agreement with
his people; in which case, they reckoned, one
article would be an indemnity for all that had
been done.

The king was every day saying, that he was
king, and he would be obeyed, and would make
those who opposed him feel that he was their
king: and he had both priests and flatterers about
him, that were still pushing him forward. All
men grew melancholy with this sad prospect.
The hope of the true protestants was in the king's
two daughters; chiefly on the eldest, who was out
of his reach, and was known to be well instructed,
and very zealous in matters of religion. The prin-
cess Anne was still very steadfast and regular in
her devotions, and was very exemplary in the
course of her life. But, as care had been taken
to put very ordinary divines about her for her
chaplains, so she had never pursued any study in

1687. those points with much application^b. And, all her court being put about her by the king and queen, she was beset with spies. It was therefore much apprehended, that she would be strongly assaulted, when all other designs should so far succeed as to make that seasonable^c. In the mean while she was let alone by the king, who was indeed a very kind and indulgent father to her. Now he resolved to make his first attack on the princess of Orange. D'Albeville went over to England in the summer, and did not come back before the twenty-fourth of December, Christmas eve. And then he gave the princess a letter from the king, bearing date the fourth of November. He was to carry this letter: and his despatches being put off longer than was intended, that made this letter come so late to her.

The king wrote to the princess of Orange about religion.

The king took the rise of his letter from a

^b Both the sisters were extremely possessed with king Charles the First's notions, for promoting the authority and wealth of churchmen; which may reasonably be imputed to their conversing so much with the clergy, who never fail to instil that doctrine, wherever they find it will gain admittance: and the meanest of them are always very able upon that subject, however insufficient they are upon any other. D. (The sentiments of this lord respecting the possessions of the church of England, which remain to her after the spoliation of the bishoprics and taking away the third part of the tithes,

may be seen at page 120 of vol. V. of Burnet's History, where an account is given of queen Anne's pious restitution of the first-fruits.)

^c (It is now understood by means of the Despatches of Barillon the French ambassador, produced by Mazure in his *History of the Revolution*, vol. II. pp. 148, 160—165. 182, that there was an intrigue among the Roman catholics to bring over the princess of Denmark to their religion, and to fix the crown on her head; but it is added, that the plan was rejected with indignation by the king her father.)

question she had put to D'Albeville, desiring to know what were the grounds upon which the king himself had changed his religion. The king told her, he was bred up in the doctrine of the church of England by Dr. Stewart, whom the king his father had put about him; in which he was so zealous, that when he perceived the queen his mother had a design upon the duke of Gloucester, though he preserved still the respect that he owed her, yet he took care to prevent it. All the while that he was beyond sea, no catholic, but one nun, had ever spoken one word to persuade him to change his religion: and he continued for the most part of that time firm to the doctrine of the church of England. He did not then mind those matters much: and, as all young people are apt to do, he thought it a point of honour not to change his religion. The first thing that raised scruples in him was, the great devotion that he had observed among catholics: he saw they had great helps for it: they had their churches better adorned, and did greater acts of charity, than he had ever seen among protestants. He also observed, that many of them changed their course of life, and became good Christians, even though they continued to live still in the world. This made him first begin to examine both religions. He could see nothing in the three reigns in which religion was changed in England, to incline him to believe that they who did it were sent of God. He read the history of that time, as it was writ in the Chronicle. He read both Dr. Heylin, and Hooker's preface to his Ecclesiastical Policy, which

1687.

1687. confirmed him in the same opinion. He saw clearly, that Christ had left an infallibility in his church, against which *the gates of hell cannot prevail*: and it appeared that this was lodged with St. Peter, from our Saviour's words to him, St. Matt. xvi. 18.. Upon this the certainty of the scriptures, and even of Christianity it self, was founded. The apostles acknowledged this to be in St. Peter, Acts xv. when they said, *It seemed good to the Holy Ghost and to us*^d. It was the authority of the church that declared the scriptures to be canonical: and certainly they who declared them could only interpret them: and wherever this infallibility was, there must be a clear succession. The point of the infallibility being once settled, all other controversies must needs fall. Now the Roman church was the only church that either has infallibility, or that pretended to it^e. And they who threw off this authority did open a door to atheism and infidelity, and took people off from true devotion, and set even Christianity it self loose to all that would question it, and to Socinians and Latitudinarians, who doubted of every thing. He had discoursed of these things with some divines of the church of England; but had received no satisfaction from them. The Christian religion gained its credit by the miracles which the apostles

^d (How this text confines infallibility to St. Peter, it is difficult to see; as the apostolic decree was made in common by St. Peter and the whole church. Besides this, St. James

appears to have been at least as much the author of the decision as St. Peter.)

^e (This is not the case, for consult the Greek and other churches.)

wrought, and by the holy lives and sufferings of the martyrs, whose blood was the seed of the church. Whereas Luther and Calvin, and those who had set up the church of England, had their heads fuller of temporal matters than of spiritual, and had let the world loose to great disorders. Submission was necessary to the peace of the church: and when every man will expound the scriptures, this makes way to all sects, who pretend to build upon it. It was also plain, that the church of England did not pretend to infallibility; yet she acted as if she did: for ever since the reformation she had persecuted those who differed from her, dissenters as well as papists, more than was generally known. And he could not see why dissenters might not separate from the church of England, as well as she had done from the church of Rome. Nor could the church of England separate her self from the catholic church, any more than a county of England could separate it self from the rest of the kingdom. This, he said, was all that his leisure allowed him to write. But he thought that these things, together with the king his brother's papers, and the duchess's papers, might serve, if not to justify the catholic religion to an unbiassed judgment, yet at least to create a favourable opinion of it.

I read this letter in the original: for the prince sent it to me, together with the princess's answer, but with a charge not to take a copy of either, but to read them over as often as I pleased; which I did till I had fixed both pretty well in my memory. And, as soon as I had sent them

1687. back, I sat down immediately to write out all that I remembered, which the princess owned to me afterwards, when she read the abstracts I made, were punctual almost to a tittle. It was easy for me to believe that this letter was all the king's enditing; for I had heard it almost in the very same words from his own mouth. The letter was writ very decently, and concluded very modestly. The princess received this letter, as was told me, on the twenty-fourth of December at night. Next day being Christmas day, she received the sacrament, and was during the greatest part of the day in public devotions: yet she found time to draw first an answer, and then to write it out fair: and she sent it by the post on the twenty-sixth of December. Her draught, which the prince sent me, was very little blotted or altered. It was long, about two sheets of paper: for as an answer runs generally out into more length than the paper that is to be answered, so the strains of respect, with which her letter was full, drew it out to a greater length.

Which she
answered.

She began with answering another letter that she had received by the post; in which the king had made an excuse for failing to write the former post day. She was very sensible of the happiness of hearing so constantly from him: for no difference in religion could hinder her from desiring both his blessing and his prayers, though she was ever so far from him. As for the paper that M. Albeville delivered her, he told her, that his majesty would not be offended, if she wrote her thoughts freely to him upon it.

She hoped, he would not look on that as want of respect in her. She was far from sticking to the religion in which she was bred out of a point of honour; for she had taken much pains to be settled in it upon better grounds. Those of the church of England who had instructed her, had freely laid before her that which was good in the Romish religion, that so, seeing the good and the bad of both, she might judge impartially; according to the Apostle's rule of *proving all things, and holding fast that which was good*. Though she had come young out of England, yet she had not left behind her either the desire of being well informed, or the means for it. She had furnished herself with books, and had those about her who might clear any doubts to her. She saw clearly in the Scriptures, that she must work her own salvation with fear and trembling, and that she must not believe by the faith of another, but according as things appeared to herself. It ought to be no prejudice against the reformation, if many of those who professed it led ill lives. If any of them lived ill, none of the principles of their religion allowed them in it. Many of them led good lives, and more might do it by the grace of God. But there were many devotions in the church of Rome, on which the reformed could set no value.

She acknowledged, that, if there was an infallibility in the church, all other controversies must fall to the ground. But she could never yet be informed where that infallibility was lodged: whether in the Pope alone, or in a general council,

1687. or in both. And she desired to know in whom the infallibility rested, when there were two or three popes at a time, acting one against another, with the assistance of councils, which they called general: and at least the succession was then much disordered. As for the authority that is pretended to have been given to St. Peter over the rest, that place which was chiefly alleged for it was otherwise interpreted by those of the church of England, as importing only the confirmation of him in the office of an apostle, when in answer to that question, *Simon, son of Jonas, lovest thou me?* he had by a triple confession washed off his triple denial. The words that the king had cited were spoken to the other apostles as well as to him. It was agreed by all, that the apostles were infallible, who were guided by God's Holy Spirit. But that gift, as well as many others, 724 had ceased long ago. Yet in that St. Peter had no authority over the other apostles: otherwise St. Paul understood our Saviour's words ill, who *withstood him to his face, because he was to be blamed*. And if St. Peter himself could not maintain that authority, she could not see how it could be given to his successors, whose bad lives agreed ill with his doctrine.

Nor did she see, why the ill use that some made of the Scriptures ought to deprive others of them. It is true, all sects made use of them, and find somewhat in them that they draw in to support their opinions: yet for all this our Saviour said to the Jews, *Search the Scriptures*; and St. Paul ordered his Epistles to be read to all the

saints in the churches; and he says in one place, 1687. *I write as to wise men, judge what I say.* And if they might judge an apostle, much more any other teacher. Under the law of Moses, the Old Testament was to be read, not only in the hearing of the scribes and the doctors of the law, but likewise in the hearing of the women and children. And since God had made us reasonable creatures, it seemed necessary to employ our reason chiefly in the matters of the greatest concern. Though faith was above our reason, yet it proposed nothing to us that was contradictory to it. Every one ought to satisfy himself in these things: as our Saviour convinced Thomas, by making him thrust his own hand into the print of the nails, not leaving him to the testimony of the other apostles, who were already convinced. She was confident, that, if the king would hear many of his own subjects, they would fully satisfy him as to all those prejudices that he had at the reformation; in which nothing was acted tumultuously, but all was done according to law. The design of it was only to separate from the Roman church, in so far as it had separated from the primitive church: in which they had brought things to as great a degree of perfection as those corrupt ages were capable of. She did not see how the church of England could be blamed for the persecution of the dissenters: for the laws made against them were made by the state, and not by the church: and they were made for crimes against the state^f.

^f (The princess had in her mind the connection between the sectaries and the republicans, which had occasioned making these laws; but still the church was concerned in making them.)

1687. Their enemies had taken great care to foment the division, in which they had been but too successful. But, if he would reflect on the grounds upon which the church of England had separated from the church of Rome, he would find them to be of a very different nature from those for which the dissenters had left it.

Thus, she concluded, she gave him the trouble of a long account of the grounds upon which she was persuaded of the truth of her religion: in which she was so fully satisfied, that she trusted by the grace of God that she should spend the
725 rest of her days in it: and she was so well assured of the truth of our Saviour's words, that she was confident the gates of hell should not prevail against it, but that he would be with it to the end of the world. All ended thus, that the religion which she professed taught her her duty to him, so that she should ever be his most obedient daughter and servant.

To this the next return of the post brought an answer from the king, which I saw not. But the account that was sent me of it was: the king took notice of the great progress he saw the princess had made in her inquiries after those matters: the king's business did not allow him the time that was necessary to enter into the detail of her letter: he desired, she would read those books that he had mentioned to her in his former letters, and some others that he intended to send her: and, if she desired to be more fully satisfied, he proposed to her to discourse about them with F. Morgan, an English Jesuit, then at the Hague.

I have set down very minutely every particular that was in those letters, and very near in the same words. It must be confessed, that persons of this quality seldom enter into such a discussion. The king's letter contained a studied account of the change of his religion, which he had repeated often: and it was perhaps prepared for him by some others. There were some things in it, which, if he had made a little more reflection on them, it may be supposed he would not have mentioned. The course of his own life was not so strict, as to make it likely that the good lives of some papists had made such impressions upon him. The easy absolutions that are granted in that church are a much juster prejudice in this respect against it, than the good lives of a few can be supposed to be an argument for it. The adorning their churches was a reflection that did no great honour to him that made it. The severities used by the church of England against the dissenters were urged with a very ill grace by one of the church of Rome, that has delighted herself so often by being, as it were, bathed with the blood of those they call heretics: and, if it had not been for the respect that a daughter paid her father, here greater advantages might have been taken. I had a high opinion of the princess's good understanding, and of her knowledge in those matters, before I saw this letter: but this surprised me. It gave me an astonishing joy, to see so young a person all of the sudden, without consulting any one person, to be able to write so solid and learned a letter, in which she mixed with the respect that

1687.

Reflections
on these
letters.

very
much
in
for an
1687

1687. she paid a father so great a firmness, that by it she cut off all further treaty. And her repulsing
 726 the attack, that the king made upon her, with so much resolution and force, did let the popish party see, that she understood her religion as well as she loved it^g.

A prosecution set on against me.

But now I must say somewhat of my self: after I had stayed a year in Holland, I heard from many hands, that the king seemed to forget his own greatness when he spoke of me, which he took occasion to do very often. I had published some account of the short tour I had made in several letters; in which my chief design was to expose both popery and tyranny. The book was well received, and was much read: and it raised the king's displeasure very high.

My continuing at the Hague made him conclude, that I was managing designs against him. And some papers in single sheets came out, reflecting on the proceedings of England, which were thought so well writ that they seemed to have a considerable effect on those who read them. These were printed in Holland: and many copies of them were sent into all the parts of England. All which inflamed the king the more against me; for he believed they were writ by me, as indeed most of them were. But that which gave the crisis to the king's anger was, that he heard I was

^g (Petre in an inedited letter to Pere le Chaise, published by Miss Strickland in her *Lives of the Queens of England*, says, that the queen concurred with him in opinion against

the sending any such letter to the Hague, and thought rather, that some person able to discourse and persuade should have been sent thither. Vol. IX. ch. 9. p. 203.)

to be married to a considerable fortune^h at the Hague. So a project was formed to break this, by charging me with high treason for corresponding with lord Argile, and for conversing with some that were outlawed for high treason. 1687.

The king ordered a letter to be writ in his name to his advocate in Scotland to prosecute me for some probable thing or other; which was intended only to make a noise, not doubting but this would break the intended marriage. A ship coming from Scotland the day in which this prosecution was ordered, that had a quick passage, brought me the first news of it, long before it was sent to D'Albeville. So I petitioned the States, who were then sitting, to be naturalized in order to my intended marriage. And this passed in course, without the least difficulty; which perhaps might have been made, if this prosecution, now begun in Scotland, had been known. Now I was legally under the protection of the States of Holland. Yet I writ a full justification of my self, as to all particulars laid to my charge, in some letters that I sent to the earl of Middleton. But in one of these I said, that, being now naturalized in Holland, my allegiance was, during my stay in these parts, transferred from his majesty to the Statesⁱ. I also said in another letter, that, if upon my non-appearance a sentence should pass against me, I might be perhaps forced to justify myself, and to give an account of the share that I had in affairs these twenty years past: in which

^h A phrase of the rabble. S.
agree with him. S.

ⁱ Civilians deny that, but I

1687. I might be led to mention some things, that I
727 was afraid would displease the king: and therefore I should be sorry, if I were driven to it.

Now the court thought they had somewhat against me: for they knew they had nothing before. So the first citation was let fall, and a new one was ordered on these two accounts. It was pretended to be high treason, to say my allegiance was now transferred: and it was set forth, as a high indignity to the king, to threaten him with writing a history of the transactions passed these last twenty years. The first of these struck at a great point, which was a part of the law of nations. Every man that was naturalized took an oath of allegiance to the prince or state that naturalized him. And, since no man can serve two masters, or be under a double allegiance, it is certain, that there must be a transfer of allegiance, at least during the stay in the country where one is so naturalized.

This matter was kept up against me for some time, the court delaying proceeding to any sentence for several months. At last a sentence of outlawry was given: and upon that Albeville said, that, if the States would not deliver me up, he would find such instruments as should seize on me, and carry me away forcibly. The methods he named of doing this were very ridiculous. And he spoke of it to so many persons, that I believe his design was rather to frighten me, than that he could think to effect them. Many overtures were made to some of my friends in London, not only to let this prosecution fall, but to promote

me, if I would make my self capable of it. I 1687.
 entertained none of these. I had many stories
 brought me of the discourses among some of the
 brutal Irish, then in the Dutch service. But, I
 thank God, I was not moved with them. I re-
 solved to go on, and to do my duty, and to do
 what service I could to the public and to my
 country : and resigned my self up entirely to that
 Providence that had watched over me to that
 time with an indulgent care, and had made all the
 designs of my enemies against me turn to my
 great advantage.

I come now to the year 1688, which proved 1688.
 very memorable, and produced an extraordinary
 and unheard of revolution¹. The year in this
 century made all people reflect on the same year
 in the former century, in which the power of
 Spain received so great a check, that the decline
 of that monarchy began then ; and England was
 saved from an invasion, that, if it had succeeded
 as happily as it was well laid, must have ended in
 the absolute conquest and utter ruin of the nation.
 Our books are so full of all that related to that
 armada, boasted to be invincible, that I need
 add no more on so known and so remarkable a
 piece of our history. A new eighty-eight raised 728
 new expectations, in which the surprising events
 did far exceed all that could have been looked
 for.

I begin the year with Albeville's negotiation after his coming to the Hague. He had before
 Albeville's
 memorial to
 the States.

¹ The Devil's in that, sure all Europe heard of it. S.

1688. his going over given in a threatening memorial upon the business of Bantam, that looked like a prelude to a declaration of war; for he demanded a present answer, since the king could no longer bear the injustice done him in that matter, which was set forth in very high words. He sent this memorial to be printed at Amsterdam, before he had communicated it to the States. The chief effect that this had was, that the actions of the company did sink for some days. But they rose soon again: and by this it was said, that Albeville himself made the greatest gain. The East India fleet was then expected home every day. So the merchants, who remembered well the business of the Smirna fleet in the year seventy-two, did apprehend that the king had sent a fleet to intercept them, and that this memorial was intended only to prepare an apology for that breach, when it should happen: but nothing of that sort followed upon it. The States did answer this memorial with another, that was firm, but more decently expressed: by their last treaty with England it was provided, that in case any disputes should arise between the merchants of either side, commissioners should be named of both sides to hear and judge the matter: the king had not yet named any of his side: so that the delay lay at his door: they were therefore amazed to receive a memorial in so high a strain, since they had done all that by the treaty was incumbent on them. Albeville after this gave in another memorial, in which he desired them to send over commissioners for ending that dispute. But,

though this was a great fall from the height in which the former memorial was conceived, yet in this the thing was so ill apprehended, that the Dutch had reason to believe that the king's ministers did not know the treaty, or were not at leisure to read it: for, according to the treaty, and the present posture of that business, the king was obliged to send over commissioners to the Hague to judge of that affair. When this memorial was answered, and the treaty was examined, the matter was let fall. 1688.

Albeville's next negotiation related to my self. I had printed a paper in justification of my self, together with my letters to the earl of Middleton. And he in a memorial complained of two passages in that paper. One was, that I said it was yet too early to persecute men for religion, and therefore crimes against the state were pretended by my enemies: this, he said, did insinuate, that the king did in time intend to persecute for religion. 729 The other was, that I had put in it an intimation, that I was in danger by some of the Irish papists. This, he said, was a reflection on the king, who hated all such practices. And to this he added, that by the laws of England all the king's subjects were bound to seize on any person that was condemned in his courts, in what manner soever they could: and therefore he desired, that both I and the printer of that paper might be punished. But now upon his return to the Hague, I being outlawed by that time, he demanded, that, in pursuance of an article of the treaty that related to rebels or fugitives, I might be banished the

1688. Provinces. And to this he craved once and again a speedy answer^m.

I was called before the deputies of the States of Holland, that I might answer the two memorials that lay before them relating to my self. I observed the difference between them. The one desired, that the States would punish me, which did acknowledge me to be their subject. The other, in contradiction to that, laid claim to me as the king's rebel. As to the particulars complained of, I had made no reflection on the king; but to the contrary. I said, my enemies found it was not yet time to persecute for religion. This insinuated, that the king could not be brought to itⁿ. And no person could be offended with this, but he who thought it was now not too early to persecute. As to that of the danger in which I apprehended my self to be in, I had now more

^m (Of the author's outlawry, and of his letter also to the earl of Middleton, the following authentic account is given in lord Fountainhall's *Chronological Notes of Scottish Affairs*, first published in 1822. "A Letter from the king ordering the indictment against doctor Gilbert Burnet (who had been undermining the king, as also his brother king Charles II. at several foreign courts) for converse with Argyle, &c., in Holland. The witnesses against him, sir John Cochran and Waterside his son, Mr. William Carstaires and Mr. Richard Baxter, minis-

ters, West and Burn, Englishmen, are not to be here then, but he will be denounced fugitive, p. 214. Doctor Burnet is of new cited on ane additional indictable indictment for the Letter he wrott to the earl of Middleton, secretarie, May last, shewing he had translated his alleadgence, and threatening, if they insisted, he would publish ane apologie which might displease his majestie and others. This was construed treason against his native prince: 11th January, 1687." p. 216.)

ⁿ Equivocator! *Cole*.

reason than before to complain of it, since the 1688.
 envoy had so publicly affirmed, that every one of
 the king's subjects might seize on any one that was
 condemned, in what manner soever they could,
 which was as much as to say either dead or alive.
 I was now the subject of the States of Holland,
 naturalized in order to a marriage among them, as
 they all knew: and therefore I claimed their pro-
 tection. So, if I was charged with any thing that
 was not according to law, I submitted my self to
 their justice. I should decline no trial, nor the
 utmost severity, if I had offended in any thing.
 As for the two memorials that claimed me as
 a fugitive and a rebel, I could not be looked
 on as a fugitive from Scotland. It was now
 fourteen years since I had left that kingdom,
 and three since I came out of England with the
 king's leave. I had lived a year in the Hague
 openly: and nothing was laid to my charge. As
 for the sentence that was pretended to be passed
 upon me, I could say nothing to it, till I saw a
 copy of it.

The States were fully satisfied with my answers; The States' answer to what relat-
ed to me. and ordered a memorial to be drawn according to
 them. They also ordered their ambassador to re-
 present to the king, that he himself knew how
 sacred a thing naturalization was. The faith and 730
 honour of every state was concerned in it. I had
 been naturalized upon marrying one of their sub-
 jects, which was the justest of all reasons. If the
 king had any thing to lay to my charge, justice
 should be done in their courts. The king took
 the matter very ill; and said, it was an affront to

1688. him, and a just cause of war^o. Yet, after much passion, he said, he did not intend to make war upon it; for he was not then in condition to do it. But he knew there were designs against him, to make war on him, against which he should take care to secure himself: and he should be on his guard. The ambassador asked him, of whom he meant that. But he did not think fit to explain himself further. He ordered a third memorial to be put in against me, in which the article of the treaty was set forth: but no notice was taken of the answers made to that by the States: but it was insisted on, that, since the States were bound not to give sanctuary to fugitives and rebels, they ought not to examine the grounds on which such judgments were given, but were bound to execute the treaty. Upon this it was observed, that the words in treaties ought to be explained according to their common acceptation, or the sense given them in the civil law, and not according to any particular forms of courts, where for non-appearance a writ of outlawry or rebellion might lie: the sense of the word *rebel* in common use was, a man that had borne arms, or had plotted against his prince: and a *fugitive* was a man that fled from justice. The heat with which the king seemed inflamed against me, carried him to say and do many things that were very little to his honour^p.

I had advertisements sent me of a further pro-

^o Vain fop. S.

^p (And shewed too much of unjust and impotent passion.

This passage is one of those

alleged to have been suppressed, but although it appears in the Autograph, it is marked for deletion in the Transcript.)

gress in his designs against me. He had it suggested to him, that, since a sentence was passed against me for non-appearance, and the States refused to deliver me up, he might order private persons to execute the sentence as they could: and it was writ over very positively, that 5000*l*. would be given to any one that should murder me. A gentleman of an unblemished reputation writ me word, that he himself by accident saw an order drawn in the secretaries' office, but not yet signed, for 3000*l*. to a blank person that was to seize or destroy me. And he also affirmed, that prince George had heard of the same thing, and had desired the person to whom he trusted it to convey the notice of it to me: and my author was employed by that person to send the notice to me^q. The king asked Jefferies, what he might do against me in a private way, now that he could not get me into his hands. Jefferies answered, he did not see how the king could do any more than he had done. He told this to Mr. Kirk to send it to me: for he concluded, the king was resolved to proceed to extremities, and only wanted the opinion of a man of the law to justify a more violent method. I had so many different advertisements sent me of this, that I concluded a whisper of such a design might have been set about, on design to frighten me into some mean

1688.
Other designs
against me.

731

^q (The person intended is lord Ossory, afterwards duke of Ormond, as appears in the letter from the bishop's correspondent, captain Baxter, whose father was at that time

steward of the Ormond estate. The letter, dated from the Hague, March 14, 1688, is inserted in the Bishop's Life written by his son, p. 695.)

1688. submission, or into silence at least. But it had no other effect on me, but that I thought it fit to stay more within doors, and to use a little more than ordinary caution. I thank God, I was very little concerned at it. I resigned up my life very freely to God. I knew my own innocence, and the root of all the malice that was against me. And I never possessed my own soul in a more perfect calm, and in a clearer cheerfulness of spirit, than I did during all those threatenings, and the apprehensions that others were in concerning me^r.

Pensioner
Fagell's
letter.

Soon after this, a letter writ by Fagell the pensioner of Holland was printed: which leads me to look back a little into a transaction that passed the former year. There was one Steward, a lawyer of Scotland, a man of great parts, and of as great ambition. He had given over the practice of the law, because all that were admitted to the bar in Scotland were required to renounce the covenant, which he would not do. This recommended him to the confidence of that whole party. They had made great use of him, and trusted him entirely. Pen had engaged him, who had been long considered by the king as the chief manager of all the rebellions and plots that had been on foot these twenty years past, more particularly of Argile's, to come over: and he undertook, that he should not only be received into favour, but into confidence. He came, before he crossed the seas, to the prince, and promised an inviolable fidelity to him, and to the common interests of religion and

^r A modest account of his own magnanimity. S.

liberty. He had been oft with the pensioner, and had a great measure of his confidence. Upon his coming to court, he was caressed to a degree that amazed all who knew him. He either believed, that the king was sincere in the professions he made, and that his designs went no further than to settle a full liberty of conscience : or he thought, that it became a man who had been so long in disgrace, not to shew any jealousies at first, when the king was so gracious to him. He undertook to do all that lay in his power to advance his designs in Scotland, and to represent his intentions so at the Hague, as might incline the prince to a better opinion of them^s. 1688.

^s (In the earl of Balcarras's *Account of the Affairs of Scotland*, addressed to king James II. when in France, the following passage occurs respecting this Mr. Stewart: "It was thought very hard even by the loyalest of your subjects to be paying for such remissions," (namely, pardons for taking offices, without taking the test, as they had done by the king's own command,) "and especially to be giving so much to Mr. Stuart, that had but some months before got a remission for plotting and contriving against your majesty and government, and was generally believed at that time, by all that wished well to your majesty's government, to be underhand betraying it; nor has their apprehensions been false, for since the revolu-

tion he has bragged to hunters, that he gave several advices, designedly to ruin it, and to advance the interests of his friends." P. 111. Mr. Stewart was knighted, and made lord advocate of Scotland by king William. The character given him by Lockhart of Carnwarth in his *Commentaries*, is, that he was a great man, profound lawyer, the chief support of presbytery, and a most virulent enemy of the royal house of Stuart. vol. I. p. 458. The fate and curse of this house was, to be betrayed by those they trusted. Dr. Calamy, who in after-life had an interview with him, observes, that he shewed an extraordinary knowledge of men and of things. Calamy's Life, vol. II. p. 172.)

1688. He opened all this in several letters to the pensioner. And in these he pressed him vehemently, in the king's name, and by his direction, to persuade the prince to concur with the king in procuring the laws to be repealed. He laid before him the inconsiderable number of the papists: so that there was no reason to apprehend much from them. He also enlarged on the severities that the penal laws had brought on the dissenters. The king was resolved not to consent to the repealing them, unless the tests were taken away with them: so that the refusing to consent to this might at another time bring them under another severe prosecution. Steward, after he had writ many letters to this purpose without receiving any answers, tried if he could serve the king in Scotland with more success, than it seemed he was like to have at the Hague. But he found there, that his old friends were now much alienated from him, looking on him as a person entirely gained by the court.

The pensioner laid all his letters before the prince. They were also brought to me. The prince upon this thought, that a full answer made by Fagell, in such a manner as that it might be published as a declaration of his intentions, might be of service to him in many respects; chiefly in popish courts, that were on civil accounts inclined to an alliance against France, but were now possessed with an opinion of the prince, and of his party in England, as designing nothing but the ruin and extirpation of all the papists in those kingdoms. So the pensioner wrote a long an-

swer to Steward, which was put in English by me. 1688.

He began it with great assurances of the prince and princess's duty to the king. They were both of them much against all persecution on the account of religion. They freely consented to the covering papists from the severities of the laws made against them on the account of their religion, and also that they might have the free exercise of it in private. They also consented to grant a full liberty to dissenters. But they could not consent to the repeal of those laws that tended only to the securing the protestant religion; such as those concerning the tests, which imported no punishment, but only an incapacity of being in public employments, which could not be complained of as great severities. This was a caution observed in all nations, and was now the more necessary, both for securing the public peace and the established religion^t. If the numbers of the papists were so small as to make them inconsiderable, then it was not reasonable to make such a change for the sake of a few. And if those few, that pretended to public employments, would do all their own party so great a prejudice, as not to suffer the king to be content with the repeal of the penal laws, unless they could get into the

^t (The abandonment of this security, adopted after the example of other nations, for the public peace and the religion established in the kingdom was recommended by the prince to his parliament, soon after he became king.

If it is pleaded, that he was not like his predecessor a Roman catholic, it may be observed, that of the new directors of the state some were as hostile to the church of England as king James.)

1688. offices of trust, then their ambition was only to
 733 be blamed, if the offers now made were not accepted. The matter was very strongly argued through the whole letter: and the prince and princess's zeal for the protestant religion was set out in terms that could not be very acceptable to the king. The letter was carried by Steward to the king, and was brought by him into the cabinet council. But nothing followed then upon it. The king ordered Steward to write back, that he would either have all or nothing. All the lay-papists of England, who were not engaged in the intrigues of the priests, pressed earnestly that the king would accept of the repeal of the penal laws; which was offered, and would have made them both easy and safe for the future. The emperor was fully satisfied with what was offered; and promised to use his interest at Rome, to get the pope to write to the king to accept of this, as a step to the other: but I could not learn whether he did it, or not. If he did, it had no effect. The king was in all points governed by the Jesuits and the French ambassador.

Father Petre made
 a privy
 counsellor.

Father Petre, as he had been long in the confidence, was now brought to the council board, and made a privy counsellor^u: and it was given out, that the king was resolved to get a cardinal's cap for him, and to make him archbishop of York. The pope was still firm to his resolution against it. But it was hoped, that the king would conquer it,

^u And to gratify the dissenters, Christopher Vane, son to the famous sir Henry Vane, (afterwards created lord Barnard by king William,) was sworn at the same time. D.

if not in the present, yet at furthest in the next 1688.
 pontificate. The king resolved at the same time not to disgust the secular priests: so bishop Leyburn, whom cardinal Howard had sent over with the episcopal character, was made much use of in appearance, though he had no great share in the counsels. There was a faction formed between the seculars and the Jesuits, which was sometimes near breaking out into an open rupture. But the king was so partial to the Jesuits, that the others found they were not on equal terms with them. There were three other bishops consecrated for England. And these four were ordered to make a progress and circuit over England, confirming, and doing other episcopal offices, in all the parts of England. Great numbers gathered about them, wheresoever they went.

The Jesuits thought all was sure, and that their scheme was so well laid that it could not mis-^{The confidence of the Jesuits.}carry. And they had so possessed that contemptible tool of theirs, Albeville, with this, that he seemed upon his return to the Hague to be so sanguine, that he did not stick to speak out what a wiser man would have suppressed, though he had believed it. One day, when the prince was speaking of the promises the king had made, and the oath that he had sworn to maintain the laws and the established church, he, instead of pretending that the king still kept his word, said, Upon 734 some occasions princes must forget their promises. And, when the prince said that the king ought to have more regard to the church of England, which was the main body of the nation, Albeville an-

1688. swered, that the body which he called the church of England would not have a being two years to an end. Thus he spoke out the designs of the court both too early and too openly. But at the same time he behaved himself in all other respects so poorly, that he became the jest of the Hague. The foreign ministers, Mr. D'Avaux the French ambassador not excepted, did not know how to excuse or bear with his weakness, which appeared on all occasions and in all companies.

The pensioner's letter was printed.

What he wrote to England upon his first audiences was not known. But it was soon after spread up and down the kingdom, very artificially and with much industry, that the prince and princess had now consented to the repeal of the tests, as well as of the penal laws. This was writ over by many hands to the Hague. The prince, to prevent the ill effects that might follow on such reports, gave orders to print the pensioner's letter to Steward; which was sent to all the parts of England, and was received with an universal joy. The dissenters saw themselves now safe in his intentions towards them. The church party was confirmed in their zeal for maintaining the tests. And the lay-papists seemed likewise to be so well pleased with it, that they complained of those ambitious priests, and hungry courtiers, who were resolved, rather than lay down their aspirings and other projects, to leave them still exposed to the severities of the laws, though a freedom from these was now offered to them. But it was not easy to judge whether this was sincerely meant by them, or if it was only a popular art, to recom-

mend themselves under such a moderate appearance. The court saw the hurt that this letter did — 1688. them. At first they hoped to have stifled it by calling it an imposture. But when they were driven from that^x, the king began to speak severely and indecently of the prince, not only to all about him, but even to foreign ministers: and resolved to put such marks of his indignation upon him, as should let all the world see how deep it was.

There were six regiments of the king's subjects, The king asked the regiments of his subjects in the States' service. three English and three Scottish, in the service of the States. Some of them were old regiments, that had continued in their service during the two wars in the late king's reign. Others were raised since the peace in seventy-three. But these came not into their service under any capitulation, that had reserved an authority to the king to call for them at his pleasure. When Argile and Mon-735 mouth made their invasion, the king desired that the States would lend them to him. Some of the towns of Holland were so jealous of the king, and wished Monmouth's success so much, that the prince found some difficulty in obtaining the consent of the States to send them over. There was no distinction made among them between papists and protestants, according to a maxim of the States with relation to their armies: so there were several papists in those regiments. And the king had shewed such particular kindness to these,

^x (By the pensionary's letter of complaint to Albeville, which was taken care to be published in England. See Ralph's Hist. of England, vol. I. p. 979.)

1688. while they were in England, that at their return they formed a faction which was breeding great distractions among them. This was very uneasy to the prince, who began to see that he might have occasion to make use of those bodies, if things should be carried to a rupture between the king and him: and yet he did not know how he could trust them, while such officers were in command. He did not see neither how he could get rid of them well. But the king helped him out of that difficulty: he wrote to the States, that he had occasion for the six regiments of his subjects that were in their service, and desired that they should be sent over to him.

Which was refused, but the officers had leave to go.

This demand was made all of the sudden, without any previous application to any of the States, to dispose them to grant it, or to many of the officers to persuade them to ask their *congé* to go over. The States pretended the regiments were theirs: they had paid levy money for them, and had them under no capitulation: so they excused themselves, that they could not part with them. But they gave orders, that all the officers that should ask their *congé* should have it. Thirty or forty came and asked, and had their *congé*. So now the prince was delivered from some troublesome men by this management of the king's. Upon that, these bodies were so modelled, that the prince knew that he might depend entirely on them: and he was no more disturbed by those insolent officers, who had for some years behaved themselves rather as enemies, than as persons in the States' pay.

The discourse of a parliament was often taken up, and as often let fall: and it was not easy to judge in what such fluctuating counsels would end. Father Petre had gained such an ascendant, that he was considered as the first minister of state^y. The nuntio had moved the king to interpose, and mediate a reconciliation between the court of Rome and France. But he answered, that since the pope would not gratify him in the promotion of father Petre, he would leave him to free himself of the trouble into which he had involved himself the best way he could. And our court reckoned, that as soon as the pope felt himself pressed, he would fly to the king for protection, and grant him every thing that he asked of him, in order to obtain it. The Jesuit gave daily new proofs of a weak and ill governed passion, and discovered all the ill qualities of one, that seemed raised up to be the common incendiary, and to drive the king and his party to the precipice. 1688. 736

Towards the end of April the king thought fit to renew the declaration that he had set out the former year for liberty of conscience; with an addition, declaring that he would adhere firmly to it, and that he would put none in any public employments, but such as would concur with him in

A new declaration for toleration.

^y (The minister, who appears in every act and transaction at this time, and was addressed on all occasions by the king's subjects, was the earl of Sunderland, he and Petre only, who was his tool, being of the secret council; nor did the king break with

him till all was in confusion, and he found himself ruined by his treachery. See note below at p. 755, fol. ed. and compare the earl's vindication of himself in a letter inserted both in the History of the Desertion, p. 27, and in the third vol. of Cogan's Tracts.)

1688. maintaining it. He also promised, that he would hold a parliament in the November following. This promise of a parliament so long beforehand was somewhat extraordinary. Both father Petre and Pen engaged the king to it, but with a different prospect. Pen, and all the tools who were employed by him, had still some hopes of carrying a parliament to agree with the king, if too much time was not lost: whereas the delaying a parliament raised jealousies, as if none were intended, but that it was only talked of to amuse the nation, till other designs were ripe.

On the other hand, father Petre and his cabal saw that the king was kept off from many things that they proposed, with the expectation of the concurrence of a parliament: and the fear of giving new disgusts, which might obstruct that, had begot a caution that was very uneasy to them. They thought that much time was already lost, and that they made but a small progress. They began to apprehend, that the regulators, who were still feeding them with hopes, and were asking more time and more money, did intend only to amuse them, and to wear out the business into more length, and to keep themselves the longer in credit and in pay; but that they did not in their hearts wish well to the main design, and therefore acted but an insincere part with the king. Therefore they resolved to put that matter to the last trial, reckoning that, if the king saw it was in vain to hope for any thing in a parliamentary way, he might be more easily carried to extreme and violent methods.

The king was not satisfied with the publishing

his declaration: but he resolved to oblige the clergy to read it in all their churches in the time of divine service. And now it appeared what bad effects were like to follow on that officious motion that Sancroft had made, for obliging the clergy to read the declaration that king Charles set out in the year 1681, after the dissolution of the Oxford parliament^z. An order passed in council, requiring the bishops to send copies of the declaration to all their clergy, and to order them to read it on two several Sundays in time of divine service. 1688.

Which the clergy were ordered to read.

This put the clergy under great difficulties. And they were at first much divided about it. Even many of the best and worthiest of them were under some distraction of thought. They had many meetings, and argued the point long among themselves in and about London. On the one hand it was said, that if they refused to read it, the king would proceed against them for disobedience. It did not seem reasonable to run so great a hazard upon such a point, that was not strong enough to bear the consequences that might follow on a breach. Their reading it did not

^z ("It is certain that such an order was made, and the clergy complied with it; but that it was made at the express instance of archbishop Sancroft, seems to rest on no other authority than that of Burnet." *D'Oyly's Life of Sancroft*, vol. I. p. 252. Macpherson, in his *History of England*, vol. I. p. 351, mentions the order, referring at the same time to

the *Continuation of Baker's Chron.* and to the third vol. of the *Complete History of England*. Probably the bishop had good grounds for his repeated assertion; and although the archbishop's intention was loyal and praiseworthy, yet perhaps the less the church has to do with politics, except in cases where fundamental points are concerned, the better.)

1688. import their approving it: but was only a publication of an act of their king's. So it was proposed, to save the whole by making some declaration, that their reading it was a mere act of obedience, and did not import any assent and approbation of theirs. Others thought, that the publishing this in such manner was only imposed on them to make them odious and contemptible to the whole nation, for reading that which was intended for their ruin. If they carried their compliance so far, that might provoke the nobility and gentry to carry theirs much further. If they once yielded the point, that they were bound to read every declaration, with this salvo, that it did not import their approving it, they would be then bound to read every thing that should be sent to them: the king might make declarations in favour of all the points of popery, and require them to read them: and they could not see where they must make their stops, if they did it not now. So it seemed necessary to fix on this, as a rule, that they ought to publish nothing in time of divine service, but that which they approved of. The point at present was not, whether a toleration was a lawful or an expedient thing. The declaration was founded on the claim of a dispensing power, which the king did now assume, that tended to the total subversion of the government, and the making it arbitrary; whereas by the constitution it was a legal administration. It also allowed such an infinite liberty, with the suspension of all penal laws, and that without any limitation, that paganism it self might be now publicly professed.

It was visible, that the design in imposing the reading of it on them, was only to make them ridiculous, and to make them contribute to their own ruin. As for the danger that they might incur, they saw their ruin was resolved on: and nothing they could do was like to prevent it, unless they would basely sacrifice their religion to their worldly interests. It would be perhaps a year sooner or later by any other management: 1688. 738
 it was therefore fit, that they should prepare themselves for suffering; and not endeavour to prevent it by doing that which would draw on them the hatred of their friends and the scorn of their enemies.

These reasons prevailed: and they resolved not to read the declaration. They saw of what importance it was, that they should be unanimous in this. Nothing could be of more fatal consequence than their being divided in their practice. For, if any considerable body of the clergy, such as could carry the name of the church of England, could have been prevailed on to give obedience, and only some number, how valuable soever the men might be, should refuse to obey; then the court might still pretend that they would maintain the church of England, and single out all those who had not given obedience, and fall on them, and so break the church within it self upon this point, and then destroy the one half by the means of the rest. The most eminent were resolved not to obey: and those who might be prevailed on to comply would by that means fall under such contempt, that they could not have the credit or

To which they would not give obedience.

1688. strength to support the established religion. The court depended upon this, that the greater part would obey: and so they would be furnished with a point of state, to give a colour for turning out the disobedient, who were like to be the men that stood most in their way, and crossed their designs most, both with their learning and credit.

Those few bishops that were engaged in the design of betraying the church, were persuaded that this would be the event of the matter: and they possessed the king with the hope of it so positively, that he seemed to depend upon it. The correspondence over England was managed with that secrecy, that these resolutions were so communicated to the clergy in the country, that they were generally engaged to agree in their conduct, before the court came to apprehend that they would be so unanimous, as it proved in conclusion that they were.

The arch-
bishop and
six bishops
petition the
king.

The archbishop of Canterbury, Sancroft, resolved upon this occasion to act suitably to his post and character. He wrote round his province, and desired that such of the bishops as were able would come up, and consult together in a matter of this great concern: and he asked the opinion of those whom their age and infirmities disabled from taking the journey. He found, that eighteen of the bishops, and the main body of the clergy, concurred in the resolution against reading the declaration. So he, with six of the bishops that came up to London, resolved in a petition to the king to lay before him the reasons that determined

them not to obey the order of council that had been sent them^a: this flowed from no want of respect to his majesty's authority, nor from any unwillingness to let favour be shewed to dissenters; in relation to whom they were willing to come to such a temper, as should be thought fit, when that matter should be considered and settled in parliament and convocation: but this declaration being founded on such a dispensing power, as had been often declared illegal in parliament, both in the year 1662, and in the year 1672^b, and in the beginning of his own reign; and was a matter of so great consequence to the whole nation, both in church and state; they could not in prudence, honour, and conscience, make themselves so far parties to it, as the publication of it once and again in God's house, and in the time of divine service, must amount to.

The archbishop was then in an ill state of health. So he sent over the six bishops with the petition to the king, signed by himself and the rest^c.

^a (The names of six other bishops, Compton of London, Lloyd of Norwich, Frampton of Gloucester, Ward of Sarum, and Mews of Winchester, are subscribed in copies of the petition, although not in that which was presented. See the *Clarendon Correspondence*, edited by Mr. Singer, vol. II. p. 478.)

^b (The answer of king Charles the second to the address of the house of commons in the beginning of the year 1673, which declared that penal statutes could not be

suspended but by act of parliament, was this, "If a scruple remains concerning the suspension of the penal laws, I hereby faithfully promise, that what hath been done in that particular, shall not be drawn either into consequence or example." *Commons' Journal*, March, 1673.)

^c (He had been forbidden the court almost two years before; according to the *Sanicroft MSS.* cited in the next Note. See also Dr. D'Oyly's *Life of the Archbishop*, vol. I. p. 265.)

1688. The king was much surprised with this, being flattered and deceived by his spies. Cartwright, bishop of Chester, was possessed with a story that was too easily believed by him, and was by him carried to the king, who was very apt to believe every thing that suited with his own designs. The story was, that the bishops intended by a petition to the king to let him understand that orders of this kind used to be addressed to their chancellors, but not to themselves; and to pray him to continue that method: and that by this means they hoped to get out of this difficulty. This was very acceptable to the court, and procured the bishops a quick admittance. And they had proceeded so carefully, that nothing concerted among them had broken out; for they had been very secret and cautious. The king, when he heard their petition, and saw his mistake, spoke roughly to them. He said, he was their king, and he would be obeyed: and they should be made to feel what it was to disobey him^d. The six bishops were St. Asaph, Ely, Bath and Wells, Peterborough, Chichester, and Bristol^e. The answer they made the king was in these words: *The will of God be done*^f. And they came from

^d (His strongest expressions were, "This is a standard of rebellion," and, "I will be obeyed in publishing my declaration." *Archbishop Sancroft's MSS. in the Appendix to Lord Clarendon's State Papers*, vol. II. p. 291.)

^e (The bishop of Bristol was Trelawney, of an ancient family in Cornwall. The bur-

den of a song composed at that time is still remembered:

"And shall Trelawney die! And shall Trelawney die!

"Then thirty thousand Cornish boys will know the reason why.")

^f (Even those of the number who espoused the doctrine of passive obedience had no occasion for a train of subtle reasoning, as Dr. Lingard sug-

the court in a sort of triumph. Now matters were brought to a crisis. The king was engaged on his part, as the bishops were on theirs. So all people looked on with great expectations, reckoning that upon the issue of this business a great decision would be made, both of the designs of the court, and of the temper of the nation. 1688.

The king consulted for some days with all that were now employed by him, what he should do upon this emergent; and talked with people of all persuasions. Lob, an eminent man among the dissenters, who was entirely gained to the court, advised the king to send the bishops to the tower. Father Petre seemed now as one transported with joy: for he thought the king was engaged to break with the church of England. And it was reported, that he broke out into that indecent expression upon it, that they should be made to eat their own dung^g. The king was long in doubt. Some of the popish nobility pressed him earnestly to let the matter fall^h. For now it appeared, that the body of the clergy were resolved not to

gests, to defend their conduct; for what was required of them was active obedience to what was in their estimation wrong.)

^g Lingard, on the authority of Barillon's Despatches, where it is said, it was advised by Sunderland and Petre to dismiss all intention of prosecuting the bishops, gives no credit to this report. *Hist. of England*, X. p. 202.)

^h Lord Arundel of Wardour, who was then privy seal, told my father, he could not

imagine what their hot-headed fools would drive things to, but he knew most of them were ignorant enough to take Magna Charta for an invention of Harry the VIIIth. D. (Lord Arundel was one of the Roman catholic lords who assisted the queen in her endeavours to prevent father Petre from being brought into the privy council. See Higgons's Short View of English Hist. p. 329.)

1688. read the declaration. Those who did obey were few and inconsiderable. Only seven obeyed in the city of London, and not above two hundred all England over : and of these some read it the first Sunday, but changed their minds before the second : others declared in their sermons, that though they obeyed the order, they did not approve of the declaration : and one, more pleasantly than gravely, told his people, that, though he was obliged to read it, they were not obliged to hear it ; and he stopt till they all went out, and then he read it to the walls : in many places, as soon as the minister began to read it, all the people rose and went outⁱ.

The king did what he could to encourage those that did obey his order. Parker, bishop of Oxford, died about this time. He wrote a book against the tests full of petulant scurrility, of which I shall only give one instance. He had reflected much on the whole popish plot, and on Oates's evidence : and upon that he called the test, the sacrament of the Oatesian villany^k. He treated the parliament that enacted the tests with a scorn that no popish

ⁱ I was then at Westminster school, and heard it read in the abbey. As soon as bishop Sprat, who was dean, gave order for reading it, there was so great a murmur and noise in the church, that nobody could hear him : but before he had finished, there was none left but a few prebends in their stalls, the queristers, and Westminsterscholars. The bishop could hardly hold the

proclamation in his hands for trembling, and every body looked under a strange consternation. D.

^k (The bishop of Oxford, in his Reasons for abrogating the Test &c. p. 5, really called it "the first-born of Oates's plot," and added, "it was brought forth on purpose to give credit and reputation to the perjury.")

writer had yet ventured on: and he said much to excuse transubstantiation, and to free the church of Rome from the charge of idolatry. This raised such a disgust of him, even in those that had been formerly but too much influenced by him, that, when he could not help seeing that, he sunk upon it. I was desired to answer his book with the severity that he deserved: and I did it with an acrimony of style, that nothing but such a time and such a man could in any sort excuse. It was said, the king sent him my papers, hearing that no body else durst put them in his hands, hoping that it would raise his indignation, and engage him to answer them. But it was thought that helped to put an end to the life of the worst tempered man I ever knew, for he died within a week after¹. And one Hall, a conformist in London,

1688.

¹ (In a MS. Preface preserved among the Burnet Papers possessed by the university of Oxford, and composed by the bishop for the purpose of its being prefixed to a translation of an answer to Parker's *Reasons*, the following story, perhaps a true one, is told. "During his (Parker's) sickness, of which he died not long after he had published his book, he was visited by some priests of the Roman communion; but they, as many others, were surprised to find, that upon their exhorting him to reconcile himself to the church of Rome, he told them, that he neither was nor would be of their commu-

nion; and when upon that, they asked him, how it came that he had written such a book in their defence (against the charge of idolatry) he told them, that he did it, to let them see how ill they justified their own cause, and that he could say more for it than they could do themselves." That Parker was not a Romanist is clear, for he was the author of a Discourse addressed to king James persuading his return to the church of England. In lord Rolles's copy of Bayle's Dictionary at his seat in Devonshire, some one has written, "His son Mr. Samuel Parker" (a writer of some note) "had letters to prove,

1688. who was looked on as half a presbyterian, yet, because he read the declaration, was made bishop of Oxford. One of the popish bishops was upon the king's mandamus chosen by the illegal fellows of Magdalen college their president^m. The sense of the nation, as well as of the clergy, had appeared so signally on this occasion, that it was visible, that the king had not only the seven petitioning bishops to deal with, but the body of the whole nation, both clergy and laity.

The king ordered the bishops to be prosecuted for it.

The violent advices of father Petre and the Jesuited party were so fatally suited to the king's own temper and passion, that they prevailed over

“ that he expressed the greatest concern, when the Roman catholic fellows were put into Magdalen college; and that the bishop just before his death received the sacrament according to the usage of the church of England.” As to the admission of the Roman catholic fellows, Parker could not help what was done, for he and they held by the same tenure of mandamus and dispensation; and as to the demies whom he sent away, it is known that they would not stay.)

^m (This prelate was Bonaventure Giffard, a doctor of the Sorbonne, who had been consecrated a bishop, as bishop of Madaura in Africa, and was one of the four papal vicars in England. He became president in March 1688. Twelve persons of the Romish religion had been previously

made fellows, and their form of worship was set up in the college chapel. The candlesticks used at it were not long since preserved in the bursary. In the August following, doctor Thomas Smith, mentioned above, a man of great celebrity in the literary world, was deprived by them of his fellowship for non-residence in college. When restored he was again deprived in 1692, for adhering to king James. To correct a mistake recently copied from Howell's *State Trials*, vol. XII. p. 101, it is perhaps worth remarking, that Dr. Smith, who on account of his Hebrew studies was commonly called *Rabbi* Smith, was sometimes named *Tograi*, as appears by a MS. account of Magdalen college visitation, the name of an Arabian author of eminence, whose poem he had edited.)

the wiser counsels of almost all that were advised with. But the king, before he would bring the matter to the council, secretly engaged all the privy counsellors to concur with him: and, after a fortnight's consultation, the bishops were cited to appear before the council. The petition was offered to them; and they were asked, if they owned it to be their petition. They answered, it seemed they were to be proceeded against upon that account: so they hoped the king would not press them to a confession, and then make use of it against them: after they had offered this, they owned the petition. They were next charged with the publication of it; for it was then printed. But they absolutely denied that was done by their means. The archbishop had written the petition all in his own hand, without employing any person to copy it out: and though there was one draught written of the petition, as it was agreed on, from which he had written out the original which they had all signed, yet he had kept that still in his own possession, and had never shewn it to any person: so it was not published by them: that must have been done by some of those to whom the king had shewed itⁿ.

They were in the next place required to enter

ⁿ (Bevill Higgon's, in his Short View, p. 333, says, "All agreed, that it must have been in the press, if not before, by the time it was delivered to the king, which was about five in the afternoon, and it came out that very night at twelve, and

" was so bawled and roared through the streets by the hawkers, that people rose out of their beds to buy it." See also Dalrymple's Memoirs, vol. I. p. 114, where however this dispersion of copies is attributed to the infidelity of those about the king's person.)

1688. into bonds to appear in the court of the king's

They were
sent to the
tower.

bench, and answer to an information of misdemeanour^o. They excepted to this; and said, that by their peerage they were not bound to do it. Upon their insisting on this, they were sent to the tower, by a warrant signed by the whole board, except Father Petre, who was passed over by the king's order. This set all the whole city into the highest fermentation that was ever known in memory of man. The bishops were sent by water to the tower: and all along as they passed, the banks of the river were full of people, who kneeled down and asked their blessing, and with loud shouts expressed their good wishes for them, and their concern in their preservation. The soldiers, and other officers in the tower, did the same. An universal consternation appeared in all people's looks. But the king was not moved with all this. And, though two days after, upon the queen's pretended delivery, the king had a fair occasion to have granted a general pardon to celebrate the joy of that birth, (and it was given out by those papists that had always affected to pass for moderate men, that they had all pressed this vehemently,) the king was inflexible: he said, his authority would become contemptible, if he suffered such an affront to pass unpunished.

A week after their commitment, they were brought upon a habeas corpus to the king's bench

^o Dr. Lingard relates, that thus it had been arranged on the preceding evening between the archbishop and lord Berkeley, one of the privycouncil, but

now by the advice of all their friends, advice given that morning, they would give no other security than their word. *Hist. of England*, vol. III. p. 304.

bar^p, where their counsel offered to make it appear to be an illegal commitment: but the court allowed it good in law. They were required to enter into bonds for small sums, to answer to the information that day fortnight. St. Peter's and St. Paul's day was chosen to be the day of their trial. And the fixing on that day, though it was perhaps done without design, was said to be ominous. Some said the trial was whether St. Peter's successors should prevail or not; whereas others turned it, and said the trial was whether St. Paul's doctrine should continue among us or not^q. 1688.

The bishops were discharged of their imprisonment: and people of all sorts ran to visit them as confessors, one company going in as another went out. The appearance in Westminster-hall was very solemn: about thirty of the nobility accompanying them. All the streets were full of shoutings the rest of the day, and with bonfires at night^r. But soon after discharged.

P (The pope's nuncio, the prelate D'Adda, in his Papers, cited by sir John Mackintosh, in his *History of the Revolution*, ch. ix. p. 262, writes thus: "Of the immense concourse of people who received them on the bank of the river, the majority in their immediate neighbourhood were on their knees; the archbishop laid his hands on the heads of such as he could reach, exhorting them to continue stedfast in their faith; they cried aloud that all should kneel, while tears flowed from the eyes of many.")

q ("St. Peter's and St. Paul's

day—or not." This is one of the Suppressed Passages, recognised in the Autograph and Transcript.)

r (The author's relation, Johnstone, in a Letter, dated 18th June in this year, cited also by Mackintosh at p. 264 of his *History of the Revolution*, sends him word, that when the archbishop landed at Lambeth, the grenadiers of lord Lichfield's regiment, though posted at that place by government, received him with military honours, and made a line for his passage from the river to his palace, and fell on their knees to ask his blessing.)

1688.

They were
tried.

When the day fixed for their trial came, there was a vast concourse. Westminster-hall, and all the places about, were full of people, who were strangely affected with the matter. Even the army, that was then encamped on Hounslow-heath, shewed such a disposition to mutiny, that it gave the king no small uneasiness. The trial came on, which was chiefly managed against the bishops by sir William Williams^s. He had been speaker in two successive parliaments, and was a zealous promoter of the exclusion: and he had continued many years a bold pleader in all causes against the court: but he was a corrupt and vicious man, who had no principles, but followed his own interests. Sawyer, the attorney general, who had for many years served the ends of the court in a most abject and obsequious manner, would not support the dispensing power: so he was turned out^t, Powis being advanced to be attorney general: and Williams was made solicitor general. Powis acted his part in this trial as fairly as his post could admit of. But Williams took very indecent liberties. And he had great advantages over Sawyer and Finch, who were among the bishops' counsel, by reflecting on the precedents and proceedings during their being the king's counsel. The king's counsel could not have full proof, that the bishops' hands

^s He was grandfather of sir Watkin Williams Wynn, a man in our time of great note among the most disaffected to the present government, and much known upon that account. O.

^t (The author speaks disre-

spectfully of sir Robert Sawyer before, vol. II. of his History, p. 342. But compare the speaker's note on that place, and the character of this eminent lawyer in Granger's *Biographical History of England*.)

were truly theirs, and were forced to have recourse to the confession they had made at the council board; which was thought very dishonourable, since they had made that confession in confidence, trusting to the king's honour, though it did not appear that any promise was made that no advantage should be taken of that confession. No proof was brought of their publishing it, which was the main point^v. The presenting it to the king, and afterwards their owning it to be their petition, when it was put to them at the council board, was all that the king's counsel could offer for proof of this; 743 1688. which was an apparent strain, in which even those judges that were the surest to the court did not seem to be satisfied. It was much urged against them, that this petition was a libel, tending to the defaming the king's government.

But to this it was answered, that they having received an order, to which they found they could not give obedience, thought it was incumbent on them, as bishops, and as subjects, to lay before the king their reasons for it: all subjects had a right to petition the king: they as peers were of his great council, and so had yet a better claim to that: and that more particularly in matters of religion; for the act of uniformity in queen Elizabeth's time had required them under a curse to look carefully after those matters: the dispensing power had been often brought into debate in parliament, and was always voted to be against law: and the late king had yielded the point by re-

^v See my lord Sunderland's printed trial. State Trials, evidence, as to this, in the vol. III. p. 790 and 791. O.

1688. calling his declaration : so they thought they had a right to represent these things to the king. And occasion was often taken to reflect on the dispensing power. To this the king's counsel replied, that the votes of one or both houses were not laws, till they were enacted by king and parliament : and the late king's passing once from a point of his prerogative did not give it up, but only waved it for that time : they urged much the sacredness of the king's authority ; that a paper might be true in fact, and yet be a libel ; that in parliament the two houses had a right to petition, but it was sedition to do it in a point of government out of parliament.

The trial did last long, above ten hours. The crowds continued in expectation all the while, and expressed so great a concern for the bishops, that the witnesses who were brought against them were not only treated with much scorn, and loud laughter upon every occasion, but seemed to be in such danger, that they escaped narrowly, going away by a back passage. Two of the judges, Powel and Halloway, delivered their opinion, that there was no seditious matter in the petition, and that it was no libel. Chief justice Wright was brought into this court^u; and Herbert was made chief justice of the common pleas: Herbert was with the court in the main of the king's dispensing power, but was against them in most particulars : so he

^u (Formerly, "Wright was now brought into this court, and made chief justice ; and Herbert," &c., but the Auto-graph and Transcript have, as in the text, *Chief justice Wright was brought into this court ; and Herbert, &c.* Wright was chief justice of the king's bench in the preceding year.)

could not serve their ends in this court. Wright 1688. was the properer tool. He in his charge called the petition a libel: but he did not think the publication was proved.

The jury was fairly returned. When they were shut up, they were soon agreed upon their verdict, to acquit the bishops. But it was thought to be both the more solemn and the safer way, to continue shut up till the morning^x. The king still flattered himself with the hope that the bishops would be brought in guilty. He went that morning to the camp: for the ill humour the army was in the day before, made him think it necessary to go and keep them in awe and order by his own presence.

The court sat again next day. And then the jury came in with their verdict. Upon which there were such shoutings, so long continued, and as it were echoed into the city, that all people were struck with it. Every man seemed trans-

And acquitted;

To the great joy of the town and nation.

^x (Dr. D'Oyley, in his Life of Archbishop Sancroft, observes, that "great difference of opinion appears to have prevailed among them from the length of time which elapsed before they came to an agreement; persons who were appointed to watch them, reported, that about midnight, and also about three o'clock in the morning, they were overheard to be engaged in loud and eager debate." Vol. I. p. 307. Macpherson, in his Hist. of Great Britain, vol. I. p. 501,

relates, on the authority of a MS. that the obstinacy of Arnold a brewer, who dissented from the verdict, occasioned the delay. Ralph had before mentioned this circumstance, with the addition, that he was brewer to the king, and afraid of losing his place. Hist. of England, vol. I. p. 993. In one of the *Letters of the Herbert Family*, lately published, he is called captain Arnold, and is said to have a considerable party to support him in his wish to represent Westminster in parliament.)

1688. ported with joy. Bonfires were made all about the streets. And the news going over the nation, produced the like rejoicings and bonfires all England over. The king's presence kept the army in some order. But he was no sooner gone out of the camp, than he was followed with an universal shouting, as if it had been a victory obtained. And so fatally was the king pushed on to his ruin, that he seemed not to be by all this enough convinced of the folly of those violent counsels. He intended still to pursue them. It was therefore resolved on, to bring this matter of the contempt of the order of council, in not reading the declaration, before the ecclesiastical commissioners. They did not think fit to cite the archbishop and bishops before them: for they did not doubt they would plead to their jurisdiction, and refuse to acknowledge their authority; which they hoped their chancellors, and the inferior clergy, would not venture on.

The clergy
was next
designed
against.

Citations were sent out requiring the chancellors and archdeacons to send in the lists of all the clergy, both of such as had obeyed, and of those who had not obeyed the order of council^y. Some of these were now so much animated with the sense that the nation had expressed of the bishops' imprisonment and trial, that they declared they would not obey this order: and others excused themselves in softer terms. When the day came to which they were cited, the bishop of Rochester,

^y (The commissioners had actually suspended doctor Hawkins for refusing to read the declaration, whilst the prosecution of the bishops was pending. See *Caveat against the Whigs*, p. 51.)

though he himself had obeyed the order, and had 1688.
 hitherto gone along, sitting with the other com-
 missioners, but had always voted on the milder
 side, yet now, when he saw matters were running
 so fast to the ruin of the church, he not only
 would sit no longer with them, but wrote a letter
 to them; in which he said, it was impossible for
 him to go on with them any longer; for though
 he himself had obeyed the order of council, which
 he protested he did because he thought he was
 bound in conscience to do it, yet he did not doubt
 but that those who had not obeyed it had gone
 upon the same principle of following their con-
 science, and he would much rather choose to 745
 suffer with them, than to concur in making them
 suffer. This stopped proceedings for that day,
 and put the court to a stand. So they adjourned
 themselves till December; and they never sat any
 more^z.

This was the progress of that transaction, which The effect
this had
every
where.
 was considered all Europe over as the trial whether
 the king or the church were like to prevail. The
 decision was as favourable as was possible. The
 king did now assume to himself a power to make
 laws void, and to qualify men for employments,
 whom the law had put under such incapacities,
 that all they did was null and void. The sheriffs
 and mayors of towns were no legal officers: judges,
 (one of them being a professed papist, Alibon,)
 who took not the test, were no judges: so that
 the government, and the legal administration of

^z (At that time the only justice Herbert. See the *Ellis*
 commissioners present were *Correspondence*, vol. II. p. 137.)
 the bishop of Chester and chief

1688. it, was broken. A parliament returned by such men was no legal parliament. All this was done by virtue of the dispensing power, which changed the whole frame of our government, and subjected all the laws to the king's pleasure: for, upon the same pretence of that power, other declarations might have come out, voiding any other laws that the court found stood in their way; since we had scarce any law that was fortified with such clauses to force the execution of it, as those that were laid aside had in them^a. And when the king pretended, that this was such a sacred point of government, that a petition, offered in the modestest terms, and in the humblest manner possible, calling it in question, was made so great a crime, and carried so far against men of such eminence; this, I confess, satisfied me, that here was a total destruction of our constitution, avowedly began, and violently prosecuted. Here were not jealousies nor fears: the thing was open and avowed. This was not a single act of illegal violence, but a declared design against the whole of our constitution. It was not only the judgment of a court of law: the king had now by two public acts of state, renewed in two successive years, openly published his design^b. This appeared such a total

^a Kings, of all men, are most interested that the law should be supported; for take away *that*, and one man has as good right as another. Force equally entitles every body that can get it: therefore a solemn declaration, that a king will not govern according to law, seems to me a formal re-

nouncing of any right he has by it; and when he has cut the bough he sat upon, has little reason to be surprised if he falls to the ground. D.

^b (The first and second declaration of liberty of conscience are here intended. See p. 736.)

subversion, that, according to the principles that 1688.
 some of the highest assertors of submission and
 obedience, Barklay and Grotius, had laid down, it
 was now lawful for the nation to look to itself,
 and see to its own preservation. And, as soon as
 any man was convinced that this was lawful, there
 remained nothing but to look to the prince of
 Orange, who was the only person that either
 could save them, or had a right to it: since by
 all the laws in the world, even private as well as
 public, he that has in him the reversion of any
 estate, has a right to hinder the possessor, if he
 goes about to destroy that which is to come to him
 after the possessor's death.

Upon all this disorder that England was falling 746
 into, admiral Russel came to the Hague. He had ^{Russel}
 a good pretence for coming over to Holland, for ^{pressed}
 he had a sister then living in it. He was desired ^{the prince.}
 by many of great power and interest in England
 to speak very freely to the prince, and to know
 positively of him what might be expected from
 him. All people were now in a gaze: those who
 had little or no religion had no mind to turn
 papists, if they could see any probable way of
 resisting the fury with which the court was now
 driving: but men of fortune, if they saw no visible
 prospect, would be governed by their present
 interest: they were at present united: but, if a
 breaking should once happen, and some men of
 figure should be prevailed on to change, that
 might go far; especially in a corrupt and dissolute
 army, that was as it were let loose to commit
 crimes and violences every where, in which they

1688. were rather encouraged than punished^c; for it seemed to be set up as a maxim, that the army by rendering it self odious to the nation would become thereby entirely devoted to the court: but after all, though the soldiers were bad Englishmen, and worse Christians, yet the court found them too good protestants to trust much to them^d. So Russel put the prince to explain himself what he intended to do.

The prince's
answer.

The prince answered, that, if he was invited by some men of the best interest, and the most valued in the nation, who should both in their own name, and in the name of others who trusted them, invite him to come and rescue the nation and the religion, he believed he could be ready by the end of September to come over. The main confidence we had was in the electoral prince of Brandenburg; for the old elector was then dying. And I told Russel at parting, that, unless he died, there would be great difficulties, not easily mastered, in the design of the prince's expedition to England^e.

^c (It appears, that the soldiers were kept under too loose a discipline, for Evelyn in his Diary complains more than once of their murders and insolence.)

^d Special doctrine. S.

^e (Ralph, in his Hist. of England, makes the following acute remark on this passage: "The elector died on the last day of April, O. S.; whence it follows, that Russel had received his audience, and taken his leave, before that

" event took place; and consequently, that measures were forming in England against the king, and embraced in Holland, before the second declaration of indulgence was published, or the order of council, which was founded thereon; or the prosecution of the bi-shops was thought of; which his lordship holds of such weight for the justification of those measures." Vol. I. p. 998.)

He was then ill of a dropsy, which, coming 1688.
 after a gout of a long continuance, seemed to threaten a speedy end of his life. I had the honour to see him at Cleve; and was admitted to two long audiences, in which he was pleased to speak to me with great freedom. He was a prince of great courage. He both understood military matters well, and loved them much. He had a very perfect view of the state Europe had been in for fifty years, in which he had borne a great share in all affairs, having directed his own counsels himself. He had a wonderful memory, even in the smallest matters; for every thing passed under his eye. He had a quick apprehension and a choleric temper. The heat of his spirits was apt to kindle too quick, till his interest cooled him: and that fetched him back, which brought him under the censure of changing sides too soon and too often. He was a very zealous man in all the concerns of religion. His own life was regular, and free of all blemishes. He tried all that was possible to bring the Lutherans and Calvinists to some terms of reconciliation. He complained much of the rigidity of the Lutherans, more particularly of those in Prussia: nor was he well pleased with the stiffness of the Calvinists: and he inveighed against the synod of Dort, as that which had set all on fire, and made matters almost past reconciling. He thought, all positive decisions in those matters ought to be laid aside by both parties, without which nothing could bring them to a better temper.

The elector
 of Branden-
 burgh's
 death.

747

He had a very splendid court: and to maintain

1688. that, and his great armies, his subjects were pressed hard by many uneasy taxes. He seemed not to have a just sense of the miseries of his people. His ministers had great power over him in all lesser matters, while he directed the greater: and he suffered them to enrich themselves excessively.

In the end of his life the electoress had gained great credit, and governed his counsels too much. He had set it up for a maxim, that the electoral families in Germany had weakened themselves so much, that they would not be able to maintain the liberty of the empire against the Austrian family, which was now rising by their victories in Hungary: the houses of Saxe, and the Palatine, and of Brunswick, and Hesse, had done this so much, by the dismembering some of their dominions to their younger children, that they were mouldering to nothing: he therefore resolved to keep all his dominions entire in one hand: this would make his family the balance to the house of Austria, on whom the rest of the empire must depend: and he suffered his electoress to provide for her children, and to enrich herself by all the ways she could think on, since he would not give them any share of his dominions. This she did not fail to do. And the elector, having just cause of complaint for being abandoned by the allies in the peace of Nimeguen, and so forced to restore what he had got from the Swedes, the French upon that gave him a great pension, and made the electoress such presents, that he was prevailed on to enter into their interests: and in this he made

some ill steps in the decline of his life. But nothing could soften him with relation to that court, after they broke the edict of Nantes, and began the persecution of the protestants. He took great care of all the refugees. He set men on the frontier of France to receive and defray them; and gave them all the marks of Christian compassion, and of a bounty becoming so great a prince. But his age and infirmities, he being 748
crippled with the gout, and the ill understanding that was between the prince electoral and electoress, had so disjointed his court, that little was to be expected from him. 1688.

Death came upon him quicker than was looked for. He received the intimations of it with the firmness that became both a Christian and a hero. He gave his last advices to his son, and to his ministers, with a greatness and a tenderness that both surprised and melted them all: and above all other things he recommended to them the concerns of the protestant religion, then in such an universal danger. His son had not his genius. He had not a strength of body nor a force of mind capable of great matters^f. But he was filled with zeal for the reformed religion: and he was at that time so entirely possessed with a confidence in the prince of Orange, and with a high esteem of him, as he was his cousin-german, that we had a

^f After the revolution, he bore a secret grudge to king William, till by his means he was declared king of Prussia, and then he talked of nothing but the equality of kings, (as

Monsr. Buys told me; upon which the French envoy told him that all ships were ships, but there was great difference in their strength and rate. D.

1688. much better prospect of all our affairs by his succeeding his father. And this was increased by the great credit that Dankelman, who had been his governor, continued to have with him: for he had true notions of the affairs of Europe, and was a zealous protestant, and was like to prove a very good minister, though he was too absolute in his favour, and was too much set on raising his own family. All at the Hague were looking with great concern on the affairs of Europe; these being, in many respects, and in many different places, brought to a very critical state.

The queen gave out that she was with child.

I must now look back to England, where the queen's delivery was the subject of all men's discourse. And since so much depends on this, I will give as full and as distinct an account of all that related to that matter, as I could gather up either at that time or afterwards^g. The queen had been for six or seven years in such an ill state of health, that every winter brought her very near death. Those about her seemed well assured that she, who had buried all her children soon after they were born, and had now for several years ceased bearing, would have no more children. Her own priests apprehended it, and seemed to wish for her death. She had great and frequent [loosenesses, with some other] distempers, that returned often, which put all people out of their hopes or fears of her having any children. Her spirits were now much on the fret. She was eager in the prosecution of all the king's designs. It was believed, that she had a main hand in

^g All coffee-house chat. S.

driving him to them all. And he, perhaps to 1688.
make her gentler to him in his vagrant amours,
was more easy to her in every thing else. The
lady Dorchester was come back from Ireland:
and the king went oft to her. But it was visible,
she was not like to gain that credit in affairs, to 749
which she had aspired: and therefore this was
less considered.

She had another mortification, when Fitz-James,
the king's son, was made duke of Berwick. He
was a soft and harmless young man, and was much
beloved by the king: but the queen's dislike kept
him from making any great figure. He made two
campaigns in Hungary, that were little to his
honour: for, as his governor diverted the allow-
ance that was given for keeping a table, and sent
him always to eat at other tables, so, though in
the siege of Buda there were many occasions
given him to have distinguished himself, yet he
had appeared in none of them. There was more
care taken of his person than became his age and
condition^h. Yet his governor's brother was a
Jesuit, and in the secret: so every thing was
ventured on by him, and all was forgiven him.

In September, the former year, the queen went
to the Bath, where, as was already told, the king
came and saw her, and stayed a few days with her.
She after that pursued a full course of bathing:
and, having resolved to return in the end of Sep-

^h (The duke of Berwick mother's brother, the duke of
was afterwards a marechal of Marlborough, overcame them
France, and conquered for the in Germany and Flanders.)
French in Spain, whilst his

1688. tember, an accident took her to which the sex is subject: and that made her stay there a week longer. She came to Windsor on the sixth of October. It was said, that, at the very time of her coming to the king, her mother, the duchess of Modena, made a vow to the lady of Loretto, that her daughter might by her means have a sonⁱ. And it went current, that the queen believed herself to be with child in that very instant in which her mother made her vow: of which, some travellers assured me, there was a solemn record made at Loretto. A conception said to be thus begun looked suspicious. It was now fixed to the sixth of October: so the nine months were to run to the sixth of July^k. She was in the progress of her big belly let blood several times: and the most astringent things that could be proposed were used [to bind up nature. Yet it was said she had several returns of that which happens to women when they are not with child.]

It was soon observed, that all things about her person were managed with a mysterious secrecy, into which none were admitted but a few papists.

ⁱ ("Surely if his lordship had recollected, that the duchess died July the 19th, O.S. as she certainly did, he had never adopted this idle tale of her highness's vowing vows on the 6th of October." *Ralph's Hist. of England*, vol. I. p. 980.

^k ("It appears" from authentic documents "that the queen was herself uncertain "as to her time, reckoning

"occasionally from the beginning of September, and occasionally from the beginning of October." Lingard's *History of England*, vol. VIII. ch. 9. p. 436, note. edit. prior to the last, where the author only observes, that "the inconsistency of the account "of a supposititious birth furnishes a sufficient proof of "their falsehood." Vol. X. 3. p. 306.

She was not dressed nor undressed with the usual ceremony. Prince George told me, that the princess went as far in desiring to be satisfied by feeling the motion, after she said she was quick, as she could go without breaking with her: and she had sometimes stayed by her even indecently long in mornings, to see her rise, and to give her her shift: but she never did either¹. She never offered any satisfaction in that matter by letter to the princess of Orange, nor to any of the ladies of quality, in whose word the world would have acquiesced. The thing upon this began to be suspected: and some libels were writ, treating the whole as an imposture. The use the queen made 750 of this was, to say, that since she saw some were suspecting her as capable of so black a contrivance, she scorned to satisfy those who could entertain such thoughts of her. How soever this might be with relation to the libellers, yet certainly, if she was truly with child, she owed it to the king and herself, to the king's daughters, but most of all to the infant she carried in her belly, to give such reasonable satisfaction, as might put an end to jealousy. This was in her power to do every day: and her not doing it gave just grounds of suspicion.

¹ ("Is it not strange, said she, (princess Anne,) that the queen should never, as often as I am with her, mornings and evenings, speak to me to feel her belly? I asked, if the queen had at other times of her being with child bid her do it? She answered, No, that "is true. Why then, madam, said I, should you wonder, she did not bid you do it this time? Because, said she, of the reports. Possibly, said I, she did not mind the reports." *Henry Earl of Clarendon's Diary*, p. 79. See below, notes at p. 751 and 786.)

1688. Things went on thus till Monday in Easter week. On that day the king went to Rochester, to see some of the naval preparations; but was soon sent for by the queen, who apprehended she was in danger of miscarrying. Dr. Scarborough was come to Knightsbridge to see bishop Ward, my predecessor, who had been his ancient friend, and was then his patient; but the queen's coach was sent to call him in all haste, since she was near miscarrying. Dr. Windebank, who knew nothing of this matter, stayed long that morning upon an appointment for Dr. Wallgrave, another of the queen's physicians, who the next time he saw him excused himself, for the queen was then under the most apparent signs of miscarrying. Of this the doctor made oath: and it is yet extant^m.

On the same day the countess of Clarendon, being to go out of town for a few days, came to see the queen before she went, knowing nothing of what had happened to her. And she, being a lady of the bed-chamber to the queen dowager, did, according to the rule of the court, go into the queen's bed-chamber without asking admittance. She saw the queen a bed, bemoaning herself in a

^m (The doctor's certificate is dated Nov. 20, 1702; and states, that Dr. Waldgrave mentioned his apprehensions to him of the queen's miscarrying. But the author of an Answer to the younger Burnet's pamphlet, ironically entitled, *New Proofs of the Pretender's being truly James the Third*, says, that he had heard from a friend of Dr. Winde-

bank, that the doctor told him that in Whitsun-week just before the queen was delivered, he was informed by Dr. Waldgrave, that the queen went on, or held out; and that at the former time, Dr. Waldgrave said to him, notwithstanding his doubts and fears, he had hopes she would go on to her time. Page 18—21.)

most doleful manner, saying often, *Undone, Undone*: and one that belonged to her carried somewhat out of the bed, which she believed was linen taken from the queen. She was upon this in some confusion: and the countess of Powis coming in, went to her, and said with some sharpness, What do you here? and carried her to the door. Before she had got out of the court, one of the bed-chamber women followed her, and charged her not to speak of any thing she had seen that day. This matter, whatever was in it, was hushed up: and the queen held on her course.

The princess had miscarried in the spring. So, as soon as she had recovered her strength, the king pressed her to go to the Bath, since that had so good an effect on the queen. Some of her physicians, and all her other friends, were against her going. Lower, one of her physicians, told me, he was against it: he thought she was not strong enough for the Bath, though the king pressed it with an unusual vehemence. Millington, another physician, told the earl of Shrewsbury, from whom I had it, that he was pressed to go to the princess, and advise her to go to the Bath. The person that spoke to him told him, the king was much set on it, and that he expected it of him, that he would persuade her to it. Millington answered, he would not advise a patient according to directions, but according to his own reason: so he would not go. Scarborough and Witherlyⁿ took

ⁿ ("It is very well known," Complaint, published in 1692, writes sir James Montgomery, "that the king was against in his Great Britain's Just " the journey; that her phy-

1688. it upon them to advise it: so she went thither in the end of May°.

The queen's
reckoning
changed.

As soon as she was gone, those about the queen did all of the sudden change her reckoning, and began it from the king's being with her at Bath. This came on so quick, that though the queen had set the fourteenth of June for her going to Windsor, where she gave out she intended to lie

"sicians in ordinary were against it, and that pains were taken to search about for physicians, who would advise her going, as expedient for her health; so early were they contriving pretences for the calumny." P. 21.

° ("It was falsely asserted, that the princess Anne was never permitted to see the queen's belly, whereas she did it frequently in the beginning, and if she absented herself towards the end, it was industriously done, as well as her going to the Bath, which it had been impossible for the king to have forced upon her, had she suspected any thing of what was afterwards pretended, and been desirous to see the truth." *Life of King James the Second*, vol. II. p. 200. It had been before observed, that the princess contrived to go to Bath, that she might be absent when she knew the queen was to be brought to bed. P. 159 and 197. To this it is answered, that she had determined to be present on account of her suspicions

about the pregnancy, and could not possibly know, that the queen's calculations would turn out to be erroneous by a whole month. Mr. Macaulay's *History of England*, vol. II. p. 364, 365. As to her suspicions, lady Wentworth, a lady of the bedchamber and a protestant, was persuaded, she says, that the princess could not disbelieve the queen's pregnancy; and as for her own pregnancy, the princess's excuse of being pregnant, Dr. Lingard writes, "was a falsehood, as her husband, the prince George, told Clarendon, 'This startles me,' he says, 'Good God, bless us! nothing but lying and dissimulation in the world.'" *Diary*, p. 206." *Hist. of England*, X. 4. p. 390. See note at page 786, of the folio edition of Burnet. Doubtless the princess's suspicions, if she ever had any, were removed, when at the hour of her death she bewailed the misfortunes, as she said, of her brother. Consult Strickland's *Lives of the Queens of England*, vol. XIV. ch. 12. p. 432, 433.)

in, and all the preparations for the birth and for the child were ordered to be made ready by the end of June, but now a resolution was taken for the queen's lying in at St. James's^P; and directions were given to have all things quickly ready. The Bath water either did not agree with the princess, or the advisers of her friends were so pressing, who thought her absence from the court at that time of such consequence, that in compliance with them she gave it out it did not, and that therefore she would return in a few days.

The day after the court had this notice, the queen said she would go to St. James's and look for the good hour. She was often told, that it was impossible upon so short a warning to have things ready. But she was so positive, that she said she would lie there that night, though she should lie upon the boards. And at night, though the shorter and quicker way was to go from Whitehall to St. James's through the park, and she always went that way, yet now, by a sort of affectation, she would be carried thither by Charing-cross, through the Pall-Mall^q. And it was given out by all her train, that she was going to be delivered. Some said, it would be next morning; and the priests said very confidently, that it would be a boy.

^P Windsor would have been more suspicious. S.

^q ("I am assured by one of her servants, who did go with her, that she did go through the park, and he

"dares make an affidavit thereof, that the earl of Godolphin went by her side in a sedan." *Impartial Reflections on Burnet's Posthumous Hist.* p. 105, printed in 1724.)

1688. The next morning, about nine o'clock, she sent

The queen
said to be
in labour.

word to the king, that she was in labour. The queen dowager was next sent to. But no ladies were sent for: so that no women were in the room, but two dressers and one under dresser, and the midwife. The earl of Arran sent notice to the countess of Sunderland: so she came. The lady Bellasis came also in time. The protestant ladies that belonged to the court were all gone to church before the news was let go abroad: for it happened on Trinity Sunday, it being that year on the tenth of June^r. The king brought over with him from Whitehall a great many peers and privy counsellors. And of these eighteen were let into
752 the bed-chamber: but they stood at the furthest end of the room. The ladies stood within the alcove. The curtains of the bed were drawn close, and none came within them but the midwife and an under dresser^s. The queen lay all the while a bed: and, in order to the warming one side of it, a warming pan was brought^t. But

^r (Six protestant ladies of high rank were present at the birth, as their Depositions shew.)

^s (The feet curtains of the bed were drawn, and the two sides were open. When she was in great pain, the king called in haste for my lord chancellor, who came up to the bed side to shew he was there; upon which the rest of the privy counsellors did the same thing. Then the queen desired the king to hide her face with

“ his head and periwig, which
“ he did; for she said she
“ could not be brought to bed,
“ and have so many men look
“ on her; for all the council
“ stood close at the bed's feet,
“ and the lord chancellor upon
“ the step.” *Princess of Denmark's Answers to her sister the princess of Orange's Questions. Appendix to Dalrymple's Memoirs*, vol. II. p. 308.)

^t This, the ladies say, is foolish. S. (“The warming-pan is no feasible project, unless you break the back of

it was not opened, that it might be seen that 1688.
there was fire and nothing else in it : so here was
matter for suspicion, with which all people were
filled.

A little before ten, the queen cried out as in a
strong pain, and immediately after the midwife
said aloud, she was happily brought to bed^u.
When the lords all cried out of what, the midwife
answered, The queen must not be surprised : only
she gave a sign to the countess of Sunderland,
who upon that touched her forehead, by which, it
being the sign before agreed on, the king said he
knew it was a boy. No cries were heard from the
child^x : nor was it shewed to those in the room.

“ the child to put it in; more-
“ over, as this is supposed to
“ be a tender infant, just reek-
“ ing and wet from its mo-
“ ther’s womb, in that tender
“ state, it would either have
“ cried out in the passage, or
“ have been stiff and dead,
“ and in the variety of mo-
“ tions of tossing it up and
“ down, it would have been a
“ perfect jelly.” *Impartial Re-
flections*, &c. p. 106. “. . . .
“ Then it is said, that the
“ weather being hot there was
“ no need of a warming-pan,
“ as if linen were not to be
“ aired at all times, especially
“ on such occasions. And
“ Mrs. Dawson, who was a
“ protestant, deposed, amongst
“ other things, that she saw
“ fire in the warming-pan,
“ when it was brought into
“ the room.” *King James’s
Life*, vol. II. p. 200. The

countess of Sunderland in her
Deposition speaks of the bed
being warmed as a matter of
course. As soon as the child
was born, the midwife, who
swore she delivered the queen,
cut the navel string in the
presence of several persons,
as appears by their Deposi-
tions.)

^u (The earl of Middleton, a
protestant, deposed, that he
stood near the bed’s feet on
the left side, where he heard
the queen’s groans, and pre-
sently after several loud shrieks;
the last the deponent remem-
bers continued so long, that
he wondered how any body
could hold their breath so
long.)

^x (The lady Bellasis, a pro-
testant, deposed, that after
seeing the infant taken out of
the bed, with the navel string
hanging to it, she opened the

1688. It was pretended, more air was necessary. The under dresser went out with the child, or somewhat else, in her arms to a dressing room, to which there was a door near the queen's bed: but there was another entry to it from other apartments^y.

Great grounds of jealousy appeared.

The king continued with the lords in the bed-chamber for some minutes, which was either a sign of much phlegm upon such an occasion; for it was not known whether the child was alive or dead: or it looked like the giving time for some management. After a little while they went all into the dressing room: and then the news was published. In the mean while, no body was called to lay their hands on the queen's belly, in order to a full satisfaction. When the princess came to town three days after, she had as little satisfaction given her. Chamberlain, the man mid-wife, who was always ordered to attend her labour before, and who brought the plaisters for putting back the milk, wondered that he had not been sent to^z. He went, according to custom, with

receiver, and not hearing the infant cry, and seeing it a little black, was afraid it was in a convulsion fit. Deposition viii.)

^y ("There was no door into the room but one by which a child could have been conveyed, and that door was closed up by a great press which had stood at the back for many years before, and several months after, and was seen standing at the time of the birth by many

" witnesses, beyond all exception." *Extract from a MS. of sir George Mackenzie's, in a collection of papers belonging to the reverend Mr. Fortescue-Knottesford, p. 42.*)

^z "I perceive the Heer Meuschen was misled, confounding my discourse with him on this matter, together with the conversation he might have had with others, occasioned by pamphlets then here current,

the plaisters: but he was told they had no occasion for him. He fancied, that some other person was put in his place: but he could not find that

“pretending an account how
“far I had been therein en-
“gaged; to which several
“falsehoods were added. One
“of those papers was writ by
“Mr. Burnet, son to the
“bishop of Salisbury.—The
“matter of fact follows: On
“Sunday morning, the day of
“the month and year occurs
“not at present to my me-
“mory, the queen sent early
“a footman to fetch me to
“St. James’s, but late the
“night before being gone to
“Chatham to visit a patient,
“he missed me; a post was
“immediately dispatched, and
“I hastened and found a
“child newly born, loose
“and undrest, in lady Powis
“her lap, and as I was in-
“formed, brought forth an
“hour before I came.” *Dr.*
Hugh Chamberlayne’s Letter to
the princess Sophia, mother of
George the First, in the Ap-
pendix to Dalrymple’s Memoirs,
vol. II. p. 311. The writer of
this letter, after mentioning
that the duchess of Monmouth,
at that time disobliged by the
court, pleaded to him some-
time before in excuse for
making him wait at her house,
that she had been with her
majesty, and seen her shifted,
and her belly very big, goes
on to say, “Another circum-
“stance in this case is, that
“my being a noted whig, and
“signally oppressed by king

“James, they would never
“have hazarded such a secret
“as a supposititious child,
“which, had I been at home
“to have immediately followed
“the summons, I must have
“come time enough to have
“discovered, though the queen
“had usually very quick la-
“bours.” . . . “A third ma-
“terial circumstance may be
“admitted; that during my
“attendance on the child, by
“his majesty’s directions, I
“had frequent discourse with
“the necessary woman, who,
“being in mighty dread of
“popery, and confiding in my
“reputed whiggism, would
“often complain of the busy
“pragmaticalness of the Je-
“suits, who placed and dis-
“placed whom they pleased,
“and for her part she expect-
“ed a speedy remove, for the
“Jesuits would endure none
“but their own party; such
“was our common entertain-
“ment; but about a fortnight
“after the child was born, a
“rumour being spread through
“the city, that the child was
“supposititious, she cried,
“Alas! will they not let the
“poor infant alone? I am cer-
“tain no such thing as the
“bringing a strange child in
“a warming pan could be
“practised without my seeing
“it, attending constantly in
“and about all the avenues of
“the chamber.”)

1688. any had it. All that concerned the milk or the queen's purgations was managed still in the dark^a. This made all people inclined more and more to believe, there was a base imposture now put on the nation. That still increased. That night one Hemings, a very worthy man, an apothecary by his trade, who lived in St. Martin's-lane, the very next door to a family of an eminent papist: (Brown, brother to the viscount Montacute, lived there:) the wall between his parlour and theirs being so thin, that he could easily hear any thing that was said with a louder voice, he (Hemings) was reading in his
 753 parlour late at night, when he heard one coming into the neighbouring parlour, and say with a doleful voice, The prince of Wales is dead: upon which a great many that lived in the house came down stairs very quick. Upon this confusion he could not hear any thing more; but it was plain they were in a great consternation^b. He went with the news next morning to the bishops in the Tower. The countess of Clarendon came thither soon after, and told them, she had been at the

^a (See note below at p. 785. folio edit.)

^b A most foolish story, hardly worthy of a coffee-house. S. " (June 11th, Monday. In the morning there was a strong rumour, that the young prince was dead: he had been ill in the night, and the king was called up; but upon giving him remedies, God be thanked, he grew better." *Lord Clarendon's Diary*, p. 48. " It is true, says a lady of quality,

" the prince had once a fit of phlegm, as other children have, and a lady sending to inquire of his health, one Mrs. Rugee, one of the dry nurses, did indiscreetly send word, she believed he would be dead, before the messenger got home. And this occasioned the report of his death, but he was well in an hour after." *Answer to the pamphlet mentioned before, entitled New Proofs, &c.* p. 51.)

young prince's door, but was denied access : she 1688.
 was amazed at it ; and asked, if they knew her :
 they said, they did ; but that the queen had ordered, that no person whatsoever should be suffered to come in to him. This gave credit to Hemings' story, and looked as if all was ordered to be kept shut up close, till another child was found. One, that saw the child two days after, said to me, that he looked strong, and not like a child so newly born. Windebank met Walgrave the day after this birth, and remembered him of what he had told him eight weeks before. He acknowledged what he had said, but added, that God wrought miracles ; to which no reply could or durst be made by the other : it needed none. So healthy a child being so little like any of those the queen had borne, it was given out, that he had fits, and could not live. But those who saw him every day observed no such thing. On the contrary, the child was in a very prosperous state. None of those fits ever happened when the princess was at court ; for she could not be denied admittance, though all others were^c. So this was believed to be given out to make the matter more credible. It is true, some weeks after that, the

^c (The princess of Denmark, in the above cited answer to her sister's queries, says, " As
 " for seeing the child drest or
 " undrest, they avoid it as
 " much as they can. By all
 " I have seen and heard,
 " sometimes they refuse al-
 " most every body to see it ;
 " that is, when they say it is

" not well ; and methinks there
 " is always a mystery in it ;
 " for one does not know whe-
 " ther it be really sick, and
 " they fear one should know
 " it, or whether it is well, and
 " they would have one think
 " it is sick, as the other chil-
 " dren used to be." p. 309.)

1688. court being gone to Windsor, and the child sent to Richmond, he fell into such fits, that four physicians were sent for. They all looked on him as a dying child^d. The king and queen were sent for. The physicians went to a dinner prepared for them; and were often wondering that they were not called for. They took it for granted, that the child was dead. But, when they went in after dinner to look on him, they saw a sound healthy child, that seemed to have had no sort of illness on him. It was said, that the child was strangely revived of a sudden. Some of the physicians told Lloyd, bishop of St. Asaph, that it was not possible for them to think it was the same child. They looked on one another, but durst not speak what they thought^e.

The child, as was believed, died, and another was put in his room.

^d (This visit of their majesties on this occasion is thus noticed in a contemporary letter, lately edited by Mr. Ellis: "At Richmond the "prince of Wales continues "to suck the nurse allowed "him, and it hath that good "effect which is natural and "usual to children, and their "majesties returned thence "this day to Windsor." *Second Series of Original Letters*, vol. IV. p. 120. The account given by the queen herself respecting the illness and sudden recovery of her son is preserved in Miss Strickland's *Lives of the Queens of England*, vol. IX. ch. 5. p. 229.

^e So here are three children. S. (First of all, the queen is surmised not to have

been with child. Secondly, to have miscarried. Thirdly, a child in a warming-pan is supposed to have been conveyed into the bedchamber. Fourthly, perhaps no child to have been carried from thence into the next room. Fifthly, the child seen by all in that room to have died. Sixthly, a substituted child to have died. Thus, as Swift observes, we have three children; the new born infant seen in the next room by all, the child substituted on its death, and the prince of Wales in the room of the child substituted. It is lamentable, that such a man as Burnet should have disgraced himself by the recital of these stupid and inconsistent falsehoods. See more

1688.

Thus I have related such particulars as I could gather of this birth: to which some more shall be added, when I give an account of the proof that the king brought afterwards to put this matter out of doubt; but by which it became indeed more doubtful than ever. I took most of these from the informations that were sent over to the prince and princess of Orange, as I had many 754 from the vouchers themselves. I do not mix with these the various reports that were, both then and afterwards, spread of this matter, of which bishop Lloyd has a great collection, most of them well

on the subject, at pp. 785, 786. At page 806, he tells his reader, that he was ordered to gather all these presumptive points, as he calls them, when an investigation of the birth, after the king had left the kingdom, was once thought of. But either the bishop or his son had already, before the publication of his History, communicated to the world the above particulars, together with those remarks which he makes below upon the Depositions recorded in proof of the birth of the young prince. This was done in a pamphlet, twice before cited, entitled, in irony, *Some new Proofs, by which it appears that the Pretender is truly James the Third*. It was published towards the end of queen Anne's reign, and in it the author professes to have been materially assisted by bishop Lloyd, who is cited particularly for the account given by Hemings of the

death of the prince, and by lady Clarendon of being refused admittance to him. But these idle stories are either refuted or accounted for in the testimony which lady Wentworth gave to the celebrated Dr. Hickes, mentioned below at p. 817, where there is an account of this valuable document. The observation of the author of the *Answer* to the above cited pamphlet entitled, *Proofs, &c.* ought to be here added. "To palm one child
" upon a nation, is certainly a
" thing very difficult; but to
" palm three, one after an-
" other, and when the nation
" was alarmed beforehand,
" was, in my apprehension,
" next to impossible; and no
" man alive certainly can be-
" lieve it, who is not bereaved
" of his reason, or else is re-
" solved to believe every
" thing, right or wrong; pos-
" sible or impossible." P. 57.)

1688. attested^f. What truth soever may be in these, this is certain, that the method in which this matter was conducted from first to last was very unaccountable. If an imposture had been intended, it could not have been otherwise managed. The pretended excuse that the queen made, that she owed no satisfaction to those who could suspect her capable of such a base forgery, was the only excuse that she could have made, if it had been really what it was commonly said to be. She seemed to be soon recovered, and was so little altered by her labour, either in her looks or voice, that this helped not a little to increase jealousies. The rejoicings over England upon this birth were

^f ("There is a piece printed in the History of the Stuarts, said to be of Lloyd's dictating, to a gentleman who took minutes, and gave it in as it stands. It goes by the name of Bishop Lloyd's Account of the imposture of the prince of Wales. In which it is asserted, that the child sent to Richmond died there on the fourth or fifth of August, and was buried at Chiswick." *Salmon's Lives of the English Bishops*, p. 156. Oldmixon, the author of the History of the Stuarts, calls this letter the very collection mentioned by bishop Burnet, but it rather appears to contain a report of a conversation with Lloyd on the subject of the prince's birth, giving however the sum of Burnet's collections; for in it both Heming

and lady Clarendon's stories are introduced together with that about the child, who is stated to have died at Richmond, and other relations of equal credibility, particularly when the queen's delivery of a daughter two years afterwards is taken into consideration; at whose expected birth persons of the highest quality in England were solicited by king James to be present, although none of them for various reasons accepted the invitation. It is perhaps scarcely worth noticing, that Fuller, who, unsupported by any proof, asserted that the prince was the son of one Mary Grey by the duke of Tyrconnel, declares, in his *Humble Appeal*, printed in 1706, that of his own knowledge the account of the child's dying at Richmond is unfounded. See p. 36.)

very cold and forced. Bonfires were made in some places, and a set of congratulatory addresses went round the nation. None durst oppose them. But all was formal, and only to make a show. 1688.

The prince and princess of Orange received the news of this birth very decently. The first letters gave not those grounds of suspicion that were sent to them afterwards. So they sent over Zuylestein to congratulate: and the princess ordered the prince of Wales to be prayed for in her chapel^g. Upon this occasion, it may not be improper to set down what the princess said to myself on this subject two years before. I had asked her, in the freedom of much discourse, if she knew the temper of her own mind, and how she could bear the queen's having a son. She said, she was sure it would give her no concern at all on her own account: God knew best what was fit for her: and, if it was not to serve the great ends of Providence, she was sure that, as to her self, she would rather wish to live and die in the condition she was then in. The advertisements formerly mentioned came over from so many hands, that it was impossible not to be shaken by them. It was also taken ill in England, that the princess should have begun so early to pray for the pretended prince: upon which the naming him discontinued. But this was so highly resented by the court of England, that the prince, fearing it might precipi-

The prince and princess of Orange sent to congratulate.

^g (It appears by a Letter from archbishop Tenison to our author, among the Burnet Papers preserved at Oxford, that his friend the archbishop advised him not to mention, (in his History probably,) that the prince of Wales had been prayed for in the chapel at the Hague.)

1688. tate a rupture, ordered him to be again named in the prayers^h.

The prince
designs an
expedition
to England.

The prince set himself with great application to prepare for the intended expedition: for Zuylestein brought him such positive advices, and such an assurance of the invitation he had desired, that he was fully fixed in his purposeⁱ. It was advised from England, that the prince could never hope for a more favourable conjuncture, nor for better
755 grounds to break on, than he had at that time. The whole nation was in a high fermentation. The proceedings against the bishops, and those that were still kept on foot against the clergy, made all people think the ruin of the church was resolved on, and that on the first occasion it would be executed, and that the religion would be altered. The pretended birth made them reckon that popery and slavery would be entailed on the nation. And if this heat went off, people would lose heart. It was also visible, that the army continued well affected. They spoke openly against popery: they drank the most reproachful healths against them that could be invented, and treated the few papists that were among them with scorn and aversion. The king saw this so visibly, that he broke up the

^h ("Some few hours after the Dutch fleet had sailed from Helver, a fisher boat arrived at Scheveling, and brought word to the Hague, that the fleet was out at sea with a fair wind; upon which the princess gave immediate order to leave out the prayer for the prince of Wales in

her chapel at evening service." *Bevill Higgon's View of English History*, p. 344. 2d edit.)

ⁱ The Continuator of Mackintosh's *History of the Revolution* remarks, that the invitation reached the prince a month before the return of Zuylestein, ch. xiii. p. 12.

1688.

camp, and sent them to their quarters: and it was believed, that he would bring them no more together, till they were modeled more to his mind. The seamen shewed the same inclinations. The Dutch had set out a fleet of twenty-four men of war, on pretence to secure their trade: so the king resolved to set out as strong a fleet. Strickland, who was a papist, had the command. He brought some priests aboard with him, who said mass, or at least performed such offices of their religion as are allowed on ships of war: and the chaplain, that was to serve the protestants in Strickland's ship, was sent away upon a slight pretence. This put the whole fleet into such a disorder, that it was like to end in a mutiny. Strickland punished some for this: and the king came down to accommodate the matter. He spoke very softly to the seamen: yet this made no great impression: for they hated popery in general, and Strickland in particular. When some gained persons among the seamen tried their affections to the Dutch, it appeared they had no inclinations to make war on them. They said aloud, they were their friends and their brethren; but they would very willingly go against the French. The king saw all this, and was resolved to take other more moderate measures.

These advices were suggested by the earl of Sunderland, who saw the king was running violently to his own ruin^k. So, as soon as the queen

Sunderland
advised
more moderate
proceedings.

^k The old earl of Bradford told me he dined in a great deal of company at the earl

of Sunderland's, who declared publicly that they were now sure of their game; for it

1688. admitted men to audiences, he had some very long ones of her. He represented to her, that

would be an easy matter to have a house of commons to their minds, and there was nothing else could resist them. Lord Bradford asked him, if they were as sure of the house of lords, for he believed they would meet with more opposition there than they expected. Lord Sunderland turned to lord Churchill, who sat next him, and in a very loud shrill voice, cried, "O Silly, why your troop of guards shall be called to the house of lords."

D. (This note of lord Dartmouth's has been already published by sir John Dalrymple, in the Appendix to his Memoirs, vol. II. p. 288. The meaning of this speech is ascertained by a similar relation in the Halifax MSS. produced by Mackintosh in his History of the Revolution, that lord Sunderland declared, that sooner than not obtain a majority he would make all lord Feversham's troops peers, ch. 7, p. 206. A threatened violation of the constitution, which subsequently perpetrated was impeached of high treason, as nullifying a branch of the legislature. Respecting the Letter the earl of Sunderland printed afterwards, in vindication of himself, it is observed, in the Life of King James II. lately published, "that in it he most falsely pretends to have constantly opposed all those counsels which were

"now so cried out against: "whereas in reality he did not "only approve them, but generally run before the rest. "He would oftentimes indeed "try the ford by his secret "agents, as sir Nicholas Butler, Mr. Lob, and even father "Petre himself, that he might "seem only not to oppose "those dangerous methods "which had their true origin "from him alone." Vol. II. p. 284. The earl of Aylesbury, in his letter to Mr. Leigh, of Adlestrop, says of this seducing minister, as he calls him, that he "put the king upon all false "steps, and owned after the "revolution to a friend of "mine, that he did all that in "him lay to promote the "entrance of the prince of "Orange." See before, at p. 697. He himself, in a letter still existing, boasts to king William of having "contributed what lay in him towards the advancing of his "glorious undertaking." Dalrymple's Append. P. iii. p. 1. The truth of this is evidenced by the Dartmouth and Halifax relations. On the eleventh of September, about two months before the prince's landing, lady Sunderland, in a letter to her husband's uncle Henry Sydney at the Hague, urges on the prince's expedition, and asks him, what place he would advise her lord to go to. Sydney's *Diary*, vol. II. p. 257.

the state of her affairs was quite changed by her having a son. There was no need of driving things fast, now they had a succession sure: time would bring all about, if matters were but softly managed. He told her, it would become her to set up for the author of gentle counsels, that she might by another administration lay the flame that was now kindled. By this she would gain the hearts of the nation, both to her self and to her son: she might be declared regent, in case the king should die before her son came to be of age. He found these advices began to be hearkened to. But, that he might have the more credit in pressing them, he, who had but too slight notions of religion, resolved to declare himself a papist. And then, he being in the same interest with her, and most violently hated for this ill step he had made, he gained such an ascendant over her spirit, that things were like to be put in another management. 1688. 756

He made the step to popery all of the sudden, without any previous instruction or conference: so that the change he made looked too like a man who, having no religion, took up one, rather for to serve a turn, than that he was truly changed from one religion to another. He has been since accused, as if he had done all this to gain the more credit, that so he might the more effectually

And he
turned pa-
pist.

Still however from the tenor of his letter to William, after he was king, it should seem, although Sunderland did what in him lay to promote the revolution according to his own account of himself, and the duke of Chandos's relation of him, at page 783, yet that he did not at this time act under the guidance and direction of the prince of Orange.)

1688. ruin the king¹. There was a suspicion of another nature, that stuck with some in England, who thought that Mr. Sidney, who had the secret of all the correspondence that was between the prince and his party in England, being in such a particular friendship with the earl of Sunderland, the earl had got into that secret^m: and they fancied he would get into the prince's confidence by Sidney's means. So I was writ to, and desired to put it home to the prince, whether he was in any confidence or correspondence with the earl of Sunderland, or not? For, till they were satisfied in that

¹ After the revolution, he and his friends for him pleaded, that he turned papist for the good of the protestant religion, and he told Mr. John Danvers, (from whom I had it,) that he wondered any body would be so silly as to dispute with kings; for if they would not take good advice, there was no way of dealing with them, but by running into their measures till they had ruined themselves. D. (His pious lady has the effrontery to write in these terms to her friend Evelyn in the month of June, 1689. "Indeed, when "I think I may live and serve "that God who has done so "much for me and for my poor "lord, who is now in one and "the same holy religion, it "does transport me, and I "think there is nothing I "could not go through to "save it." See Mr. Blencowe's *Introd. to H. Sydney's Diary*, vol. I. p. lxxix. Ac-

cording to the marquis of Halifax the earl was in his politics a republican. The marquis's MSS. are quoted by the Continuator of Mackintosh's *Hist. of the Revolution*, ch. 12. p. 452. Lady Sunderland was the daughter of George Digby, the eccentric earl of Bristol, who turned Roman catholic before the restoration.)

^m He was brother to the earl's mother, Mr. Waller's Sacharissa. She was, after the death of the earl's father, married to a private gentleman of Kent, near Penshurst, Mr. Smythe, from which marriage is descended a grandson, sir Sydney Stafford Smythe, a baron of the exchequer, and late one of the lords commissioners of the great seal. O. (The earl of Leicester, father of this noble lady, in his *Journal* now published by Mr. Blencowe, p. 136, calls his son-in-law sir Robert Smith.)

1688.

matter, they would not go on; since they believed he would betray all, when things were ripe for it, and that many were engaged in the design. The prince upon that did say very positively, that he was in no sort of correspondence with him. His counsels lay then another wayⁿ. And, if time had been given him to follow the scheme then laid down by him, things might have turned fatally: and the nation might have been so laid asleep with new promises, and a different conduct, that in a slow method they might have gained that, which they were so near losing by the violent proceedings in which they had gone so far^o. The

ⁿ (The Continuator of Mackintosh's *History of the Revolution* after citing these words of Burnet, observes, that it appears from a letter in Dalrymple's Appendix written by the earl of Sunderland to the prince of Orange, that he was prostrating himself at the feet of the prince, while *his counsels lay another way*, that is, while he was endeavouring to bring James to more moderate measures through the influence of the queen. Opposed to such good intention, the accusation of duplicity preferred by the king and his friends against him deserves to be considered. But it is indeed difficult to trace this man in his tortuous course, and to fix the hour when he finally determined on leaving James, provided that he was not in every transaction during the whole of this reign intent on serving the prince of Orange. Compare

Dr. Lingard's *History*, X. 32. pp. 222, 302, 340, and Note D, 415—418, which contains extracts from the Despatches of D'Avaux, Barillon, and Bonrepaus. That the earl really advised pardoning the six bishops appears by Barillon's Despatches cited in Mazure's *History of the Revolution*, vol. II. p. 448. and Macaulay's *History of England*, vol. II. ch. 8. p. 357. where the counsels of Sunderland are detailed.)

^o See what the want of probity will bring the greatest man to. This able politician had the dexterity to draw this dilemma upon his character. If he was true to his country, he betrayed his master. If he was true to his master, he was false to his country. He served king William afterwards, and was deemed the best minister he ever had. But king William should not have made such a man his minister.

1688. judges had orders in their circuits to proceed very gently, and to give new promises in the king's name. But they were treated every where with such contempt, that the common decencies were scarce paid them, when they were on the bench. And they now saw that the presentments of grand juries, and the verdicts of other juries, were no more under their direction. Things slept in England, as is usual, during the long vacation. But the court had little quiet, having every day fresh alarms from abroad, as well as great mortifications at home.

757 I must now change the scene, and give a large
 The prince of Orange treats with some princes of the empire. account of the affairs abroad, they having such a connection with all that followed in England. Upon the elector of Brandenburg's death, the prince sent Mr. Bentink with the compliment to the new elector: and he was ordered to lay before him the state of affairs, and to communicate the prince's design to him, and to ask him, how much he might depend upon him for his assistance. The answer was full and frank. He offered all

However good his counsels might be, his character did the king more hurt; and in some things his fears, on account of his former actings, made him advise the king very ill. See the next vol. page 163, 171. He was certainly a very ill man. I have heard one particular of him, which is pretty extraordinary in this country, where men generally raise themselves by ability of speech, in public assemblies, "that he never used to speak

"in parliament." See the next vol. pp. 4, 128, 207. O. (His connection with William was not of a late date. He and his friends had endeavoured to make the prince of Orange king in exclusion of James certainly before and perhaps after the bill to that effect was thrown out by the house of lords. See Burnet's *Hist.* vol. I. p. 479, 489. folio edit. and Lingard's *Hist. of England*, X. ch. 1. p. 13.

that was asked, and more. The prince resolved 1688.
 to carry over to England an army of nine thousand
 foot and four thousand horse and dragoons. He
 intended to choose these out of the whole Dutch
 army. But for the security of the States, under
 such a diminution of their force, it was necessary
 to have a strength from some other princes. This
 was soon concerted between the prince and the
 new elector, with the landgrave of Hesse, and the
 duke of Lunenburg and Zell, who had a particular
 affection to the prince, and was a cordial friend to
 him on all occasions^P.

His brother, the duke of Hanover, was at that
 time in some engagements with the court of
 France. But, since he had married the princess
 Sophia of the Palatine house, I ventured to send
 a message to her by one of their court, who was
 then at the Hague. He was a French refugee,
 named Mr. Boucour. It was to acquaint her with
 our design with relation to England, and to let
 her know, that, if we succeeded, certainly a per-
 petual exclusion of all papists from the succession
 to the crown would be enacted: and, since she
 was the next protestant heir after the two prin-
 cesses, and the prince of Orange, of whom at that
 time there was no issue alive, I was very confident
 that, if the duke of Hanover could be disengaged
 from the interests of France, so that he came into
 our interests, the succession to the crown would
 be lodged in her person, and in her posterity:

^P (Ralph asserts, that these conferences took place after the elector of Cologne's death, of which mention is made below. History of England, p. 1009.)

1688. though on the other hand, if he continued, as he stood then, engaged with France, I could not answer for this. The gentleman carried the message and delivered it. The duchess took fire upon it, and entertained it with much warmth: and brought him to the duke to repeat it to him. But at that time this made no great impression on him. He looked on it as a remote and a doubtful project. Yet when he saw our success in England, he had other thoughts of it. Some days after this Frenchman was gone, I told the prince what I had done. He approved of it heartily: but was particularly glad that I had done it as of my self, without communicating it to him, or any way engaging him in it: for he said, if it should happen to be known that the proposition was made by him, it might do us hurt in England, as if he
 758 had already reckoned himself so far master, as to be forming projects concerning the succession to the crown^q.

The affairs
 of Colen.

But while this was in a secret management, the elector of Colen's death came in very luckily

^q In this case, as in that modest proposal he made to the princess, (see above, p. 692,) I believe he was employed by the prince, as one there was no consequence in disavowing, if he had no success; and by his own account, the prince was resolved to do so. But that this little pamphlet writer should of his own head propose settling the succession, either to the princess of Orange, or the princess

Sophia, is what I cannot credit, though he is not ashamed to own it; his vanity being very apt to get the better of his modesty, and sometimes of his truth, of which there are many instances in this history that I did not expect. D. (William's connections with and his designs in favour of the princes of the house of Brunswick Lunenburgh, may be seen in D'Avaux's Negotiations, years 1680, &c.)

to give a good colour to intrigues and preparations. The old elector was brother to Maximilian, duke of Bavaria. He had been long bishop, both of Colen and Liege: he was also elected bishop of Munster: but the pope would never grant his bulls for that see: but he had the temporalities, and that was all he thought on. He had thus a revenue of near four millions of guilders, and four great bishoprics; for he was likewise bishop of Hildesheim. He could arm and pay twenty thousand men, besides that his dominions lay quite round the Netherlands. Munster lay between them and the northern parts of Germany; and from thence their best recruits came. Colen commanded twenty leagues of the Rhine; by which, as an entrance was opened into Holland, which they had felt severely in the year 1672, so the Spanish Netherlands were entirely cut off from all assistance that might be sent them out of Germany: and Liege was a country full both of people and wealth, by which an entrance is open into Brabant: and if Maestricht was taken, the Maese was open down to Holland. So it was of great importance to the States to take care who should succeed him. The old man was a weak prince, much set on chemical processes, in hopes of the philosopher's stone. He had taken one of the princes of Furstenberg into his particular confidence, and was entirely governed by him. He made him one of the canons of Colen: and he came to be dean at last. He made him not only his chief minister, but left the nomination of the canons that were preferred by him wholly to his

1688.

1688. choice. The bishop and the dean and chapter name those by turns. So what by those the elector named on his motion, what by those he got to be chosen, he reckoned he was sure of succeeding the elector: and nothing but ill management could have prevented it. He had no hopes of succeeding at Munster. But he had taken much pains to secure Liege.

I need not enlarge further on this story, than to remember that he got the elector to deliver his country up to the French in the year 1672, and that the treaty opened at Colen was broken up on his being seized by the emperor's order. After he was set at liberty, he was, upon the recommendation of the court of France, made a cardinal, though with much difficulty. In the former winter, the emperor had been prevailed on by the Palatine family to consent to the election of a coadjutor in Colen. But this was an artifice of the
759 cardinal's, who deceived that family into the hopes of carrying the election for one of their branches. And they obtained the emperor's consent to it, without which it could not be done. But so ill grounded were the Palatine's hopes, that of twenty-five voices the cardinal had nineteen, and they had only six voices.

The contest at Rome about the franchises had now occasioned such a rupture there, that France and Rome seemed to be in a state of war. The count Lavardin was sent ambassador to Rome. But the pope refused to receive him, unless he would renounce the pretension to the franchises. So he entered Rome in a hostile manner, with

some troops of horse, though not in the form of troops: but the force was too great for the pope. He kept guards about his house, and in the franchises, and affronted the pope's authority on all occasions. The pope bore all silently; but would never admit him to an audience, nor receive any message nor intercession from the court of France; and kept off every thing, in which they concerned themselves: and therefore he would not confirm the election of a coadjutor to Colen. So, that not being done when the elector died, the canons were to proceed to a new election, the former being void, because not confirmed: for if it had been confirmed, there would have been no vacancy. 1688.

The cabal against the cardinal grew so strong, that he began to apprehend he might lose it, if he had not leave from the pope to resign the bishopric of Strasburg, which the French had forced him to accept, only to lessen the pension that they paid him by giving him that bishopric. By the rules of the empire, a man that is already a bishop cannot be chosen to another see, but by a postulation: and to that it is necessary to have a concurrence of two-thirds of the chapter. But it was at the pope's choice, whether he would accept of the resignation of Strasburg, or not: and therefore he refused it. The king of France sent a gentleman to the pope with a letter writ in his own hand, desiring him to accept of that resignation, and promising him upon it all reasonable satisfaction: but the pope would not admit the bearer, nor receive the letter. He said, while the French ambassador lived at Rome like an enemy that had

1688. invaded it, he would receive nothing from that court.

In the bishoprics of Munster and Hildesheim, the deans were promoted, of whom both the states and the princes of the empire were well assured. But a new management was set up at Colen. The elector of Bavaria had been disgusted at some things in the emperor's court. He complained, that the honour of the success in Hungary was
760 given so entirely to the duke of Lorrain, that he had not the share which belonged to him. The French instruments that were then about him took occasion to alienate him more from the emperor, by representing to him, that, in the management now at Colen, the emperor shewed more regard to the Palatine family than to himself, after all the service he had done him. The emperor, apprehending the ill consequences of a breach with him, sent and offered him the supreme command of his armies in Hungary for that year, the duke of Lorrain being taken ill of a fever, just as they were upon opening the campaign. He likewise offered him all the voices that the Palatine had made at Colen, in favour of his brother prince Clement. Upon this they were again reconciled : and the elector of Bavaria commanded the emperor's army in Hungary so successfully, that he took Belgrade by storm after a short siege. Prince Clement was then but seventeen, and was not of the chapter of Colen. So he was not eligible, according to their rules, till he obtained a bull from the pope dispensing with these things. That was easily got. With it

the emperor sent one to manage the election in his name, with express instructions to offer the chapter the whole revenue and government of the temporalities for five years, in case they would choose prince Clement, who wanted all that time to be of age. If he could make nine voices sure for him, he was to stick firm to his interest. But, if he could not gain so many, he was to consent to any person that should be set up in opposition to the cardinal. He was ordered to charge him severely before the chapter, as one that had been for many years an enemy and traitor to the empire. This was done with all possible aggravations, and in very injurious words. 1688.

The chapter saw, that this election was like to be attended with a war in their country, and other dismal consequences: for the cardinal was chosen by the chapter, vicar, or guardian of the temporalities: and he had put garrisons in all their fortified places, that were paid with French money: and they knew, he would put them all in the king of France's hands, if he was not elected. They had promised not to vote in favour of the Bavarian prince. So they offered to the emperor's agent to consent to any third person: but ten voices were made sure to prince Clement: so he was fixed to his interests. At the election, the cardinal had fourteen voices, and prince Clement had ten. By this means the cardinal's postulation was defective, since he had not two-thirds. And upon that, prince Clement's election was first judged good by the emperor, as to the temporalities; but was transmitted by him to Rome,

1688. where a congregation of cardinals examined it :

761

and it was judged in favour of prince Clement. The cardinal succeeded worse at Liege, where the dean was without any difficulty chosen bishop : and nothing but the cardinal's purple saved him from the violences of the people of Liege. He met with all sorts of injurious usage, being hated there, both on the account of his depending so much on the protection of France, and for the effects they had felt of his violent and cruel ministry under the old elector. I will add one circumstance in honour of some of the canons of Liege. They not only would accept of no presents from those whom the States appointed to assist in managing that election, before it was made ; but they refused them after the election was over. This I saw in the letter that the States' deputy wrote to the Hague.

I have given a more particular account of this matter ; because I was acquainted with all the steps that were made in it. And it had such an immediate relation to the peace and safety of Holland, that, if they had miscarried in it, the expedition designed for England would not have been so safe, nor could it have been proposed easily in the States. By this it appeared, what an influence the papacy, low as it is, may still have in matters of the greatest consequence. The foolish pride of the French court, which had affronted the pope, in a point in which, since they allowed him to be the prince of Rome, he certainly could lay down such rules as he thought fit, did now defeat a design that they had been long driving at, and

which could not have miscarried by any other means, 1688.
 than those that they had found out. Such great events may and do often rise from inconsiderable beginnings. These things furnished the prince with a good blind for covering all his preparations; since here a war in their neighbourhood was unavoidable, and it was necessary to strengthen both their alliances and their troops. For it was visible to all the world, that, if the French could have fixed themselves in the territory of Colen, the way was opened to enter Holland, or to seize on Flanders, when the king pleased; and he would have the four electors on the Rhine at mercy. It was necessary to dislodge them, and this could not be done without a war with France. The prince got the States to settle a fund for nine thousand seamen, to be constantly in their service. And orders were given to put the naval preparations in such a case, that they might be ready to put to sea upon orders. Thus things went on in July and August, with so much secrecy and so little suspicion, that neither the court of England nor the court of France seemed to be alarmed at them^r.

^r (As Ralph remarks, the bishop himself acknowledges, at p. 768, that Albeville came over fully persuaded, that the Dutch designed the expedition against England. The same historian further observes, that the whole tenor of James's measures shews, that he suspected the intentions of Holland, for when the Dutch fitted out a fleet, he

did the same; and that lord Sunderland in his letter of apology intimates, that the French made an offer in the summer of strengthening the king's hands with a squadron of theirs, which was refused. *Hist. of England*, vol. I. p. 1006. The Continuator of Mackintosh's *Hist. of the Revolution*, ch. xiii. p. 422 states, that although so early as the

1688. In July, admiral Herbert came over to Holland,

762 and was received with a particular regard to his pride and ill humour: for he was upon every occasion so sullen and peevish, that it was plain he set a high value on himself, and expected the same of all others. He had got his accounts passed, in which he complained, that the king had used him not only hardly but unjustly. He was a man delivered up to pride and luxury. Yet he had a good understanding: and he had gained so great a reputation by his steady behaviour in England, that the prince understood that it was expected he should use him as he himself should desire; in which it was not very easy to him to constrain himself so far as that required. The managing him was in a great measure put on me: and it was no easy thing. It made me often reflect on the providence of God, that makes some men instruments in great things, to which they themselves have no sort of affection or disposition: for his private quarrel with the lord Dartmouth, who he thought had more of the king's confidence than he himself had, was believed the root of all the sullenness he fell under towards the king, and of all the firmness that grew out of that.

The advices
from Eng-
land.

I now return to England, to give an account of a secret management there. The lord Mordaunt^s was the first of all the English nobility that came over openly to see the prince of Orange. He asked

15th of May the king declared his conviction that the naval preparations of Holland were designed against England, yet his judgment conti-

nually wavering^d did not fix and settle before the middle of September.)

^s Now earl of Peterborow. S.

the king's leave to do it. He was a man of much 1688.
 heat, many notions, and full of discourse: he was
 brave and generous: but had no true judgment^t;
 his thoughts were crude and indigested: and his
 secrets were soon known^u. He was with the
 prince in the year 1686: and then he pressed him
 to undertake the business of England: and he re-
 presented the matter as so easy, that this appeared
 too romantical to the prince to build upon it.
 He only promised in general, that he should have
 an eye on the affairs of England; and should en-
 deavour to put the affairs of Holland in so good
 a posture, as to be ready to act when it should be
 necessary: and he assured him, that, if the king
 should go about either to change the established
 religion, or to wrong the princess in her right, or
 to raise forged plots to destroy his friends, that he
 would try what he could possibly do. Next year
 a man of a far different temper came over to
 him:

The earl of Shrewsbury. He had been bred a The earl of Shrewsbury's character.
 papist, but had forsaken that religion upon a very
 critical and anxious inquiry into matters of con-
 troversy^x. Some thought that, though he had

^t (Added, "and less vir-
 tue," one of the alleged Sup-
 pressed Passages, but marked
 for deletion in the Transcript.)

^u (Added, "He was both
 vain, passionate and incon-
 stant," one of the alleged Sup-
 pressed Passages, but marked
 for deletion in the Transcript.)

^x He turned protestant in
 the time of the popish plot,

as did the earl of Arundel, (by
 the advice, as was said, of his
 father, the duke of Norfolk,
 who told him he was too old
 to change his religion, but
 thought it convenient his son
 should,) lord Lumley, since
 earl of Scarborough, lord Bru-
 denel, eldest son to the earl of
 Cardigan, and several others
 of lower distinction. D.

1688. forsaken popery, he was too sceptical, and too little fixed in the points of religion. He seemed to be a man of great probity, and to have a high sense of honour^y. He had no ordinary measure of learning, a correct judgment, with a sweetness of temper that charmed all who knew him. He had at that time just notions of government; and so great a command of himself, that, during all the time that he continued in the ministry, I never heard any one complaint of him, but for his silent and reserved answers, with which his friends were not always well pleased. His modest deportment gave him such an interest in the prince, that he never seemed so fond of any of his ministers as he was of him. He had only in general laid the state of affairs before the prince, without pressing him too much.

Russel's
character.

But Russel coming over in May, brought the matter nearer a point. He was a cousin-german to the lord Russel. He had been bred at sea, and was bedchamber-man to the king, when he was duke of York: but, upon the lord Russel's death he retired from the court. He was a man of much honour and great courage. He had good principles, and was firm to them^z. The prince spoke more positively to him than he had ever done before. He said, he must satisfy both his honour and conscience, before he could enter upon so great a design, which, if it miscarried, must

^y Quite contrary. S.

^z Added "He was too lazy, too haughty, and too much given to pleasure." One of

the alleged Suppressed Passages, but marked for deletion in the Transcript.

bring ruin both on England and Holland: he protested, that no private ambition nor resentment of his own could ever prevail so far with him, as to make him break with so near a relation, or engage in a war, of which the consequences must be of the last importance both to the interests of Europe and of the protestant religion: therefore he expected formal and direct invitations. Russel laid before him the danger of trusting such a secret to great numbers. The prince said, if a considerable number of men, that might be supposed to understand the sense of the nation best, should do it, he would acquiesce in it. 1688.

Russel told me, that, upon his return to England, he communicated the matter, first to the earl of Shrewsbury, and then to the lord Lumly, who was a late convert from popery, and had stood out very firmly all this reign^a. He was a man who laid his interest much to heart: and he resolved to embark deep in this design.

But the man in whose hands the conduct of the whole design was chiefly deposited, by the prince's own order, was Mr. Sidney, brother to the earl of Leicester and to Algernon Sidney. He was a graceful man, and had lived long in the court, where he had some adventures that became very public. He was a man of a sweet and caressing temper, had no malice in his heart, but too great a love of pleasure^b. He had been sent envoy to

^a He was a knave and a coward. S. ney." v. Mémoires de Grammont. *Cole*. See above, p. 300.

^b An idle, drunken, ignorant rake, without sense, truth, or honor. S. "Le beau Sidney's character. The Continuator of Mackintosh's *Hist. of the Revolution*, ch. 19. p. 616, gives the fol-

1688. Holland in the year 1679, where he entered into
 764 such particular confidences with the prince, that
 he had the highest measure of his trust and favour
 that any Englishman ever had. This was well
 known over England: so that all who desired to
 recommend themselves to the prince did it through
 his hands. He was so apprehensive of the dangers
 this might cast him in, that he travelled almost a
 year round Italy. But now matters ripened faster:
 so all centered in him. But, because he was lazy,
 and the business required an active man, who
 could both run about, and write over long and full
 accounts of all matters, I recommended a kinsman
 of my own, Johnstoune^c, whom I had formed,
 and knew to be both faithful and diligent^d, and

lowing citation from the MS. of the marquis of Halifax. "Sidney told me he repented "a hundred times embarking "in the revolution." Yet Mr. Sidney, created afterwards earl of Romney, appears to have been individually a gainer by it. According to lord Dartmouth's account in a Note at p. 237. vol. II. folio edition, above seventeen hundred pounds a year was settled on him by king William out of the forfeited estates in Ireland. He seems, from his Diary lately published by Mr. Blencowe, to deserve a better character, in point of talents at least, than Swift has given him, considering the credit he obtained both by his skill in negotiating the treaty with the States of Holland, and by the proper stile

in which he lived as a public minister. His Diary also shews him to have served with sufficient adroitness the interests of the prince of Orange.)

^c An arrant Scotch rogue. S. He was a son of Warriston, mentioned before, (p. 203, folio edit.) and was afterwards secretary of state for Scotland. O.

^d ("He was indeed hot and "eager, too soon possessed "with jealousy, and too vehement in all he proposed, "but he proved very fit." One of the alleged Suppressed Passages, but deleted in the Transcript. "He is honest, but something too "credulous and suspicious." Carstares's *State Papers*, p. 93.)

very fit for the employment he was now trusted with. 1688.

Sidney tried the marquis of Hallifax, if he would advise the prince's coming over. But, as this matter was opened to him at a great distance, he did not encourage a further freedom. He looked on the thing as impracticable: it depended on so many accidents, that he thought it was a rash and desperate project, that ventured all upon such a dangerous issue, as might turn on seas and winds. It was next opened to the earl of Danby: and he not only went in heartily to it himself, but drew in the bishop of London to join in it. By their advice it was proposed to the earl of Nottingham, who had great credit with the whole church party: for he was a man possessed with their notions^e, and was grave and virtuous in the course of his life. He had some knowledge of the law, and of the records of parliament, and was a copious speaker, but too florid and tedious. He^f was much admired by many^g. He had stood at a great distance from the court all this reign: for, though his name was still among the privy counsellors, yet he never went to the board. He upon the first proposition entertained it, and agreed to it. But at their next meeting he said, he had considered better of that matter: his conscience was so restrained in those

^e That is, church notions. S.

^f Added, "certainly admired himself, and." One of the alleged Suppressed Passages, but deleted in the Transcript.

^g Added, "chiefly by those who knew him least." One of the Passages alleged to have been Suppressed, but it is deleted in the Autograph and Transcript.

1688. points, that he could go no further with them in it: he said, he had talked with some divines, and named Tillotson and Stillingfleet, in general of the thing; and they were not satisfied with it: (though they protested to me afterwards, that they remembered no such thing:) he confessed, he should not have suffered them to go so far with him in such a secret, till he had examined it better: they had now, according to Italian notions, a right to murder him^h: but, though his principles restrained him, so that he could not go on with them, his affections would make him wish well to them, and be so far a criminal as concealment could make him oneⁱ. The earl of Devonshire was spoke to: and he went into it with great resolution. It was next proposed to three of the chief officers of the army, 765 Trelawny, Kirk, and the lord Churchill. These went all into it. And Trelawny engaged his brother, the bishop of Bristol, into it.

Lord
Churchill's
character.

But, having now named the lord Churchill, who

^h It has been said, that the Spanish minister here, who was in the secret, did advise the putting him to death. O.

ⁱ The duke of Shrewsbury told me, that upon this declaration of lord Nottingham, one of the lords (whom he named) said he thought things were brought to a short point, either lord Nottingham or they must die, and proposed shooting of him upon Kensington road, which he would undertake to do in such a manner, that it should appear to have been done by highway-

men. Lord Danby said, he thought there was more danger in meddling with him than letting of him alone, for he believed, he durst as little discover as join with them: for he must needs think, that any prejudice he did them would certainly be revenged. Upon which they agreed to have nothing more to do with him, unless their design miscarried; in which case lord Danby thought, they had reason to prevent his claiming any merit to the other side, by any means whatever. D.

is like to be mentioned oft by me in the sequel of this work, I will say a little more of him. He was a man of a noble and graceful appearance, bred up in the court with no literature: but he had a solid and clear understanding, with a constant presence of mind. He knew the arts of living in a court beyond any man in it. He caressed all people with a soft and obliging deportment, and was always ready to do good offices. He had no fortune to set up on: this put him on all the methods of acquiring one^l. And that went so far into him, that he did not shake it off when he was in a much higher elevation: nor was his expense suited enough to his posts. But, when allowances are made for that, it must be acknowledged, that he is one of the greatest men the age has produced^m. 1688.

^l A composition of perfidiousness and avarice. S. Prince Eugene gave a concise character of him upon receiving a letter from him that he could not well read, therefore gave it to another person to try if he could read it to him, who said one difficulty was, that he never put a tittle upon an i; to which the prince answered, that saved ink. D. (Compare Evelyn's account of him, when he was dismissed the service by king William, vol. II. 30. Numerous indeed are the proofs of the perfidy of this ungrateful man, and his rapacity is the subject of many a satire; but it is somewhere told, that when his enemies were attacking his character, particularly noticing his avarice, and appealed to

lord Bolingbroke, who had formerly been connected with him, for the truth of their remarks, his lordship answered, that the duke of Marlborough was so great a man, that he could remember none of his faults. A fine sentiment in the mouth of a rival statesman; but which ought not to abridge the freedom of history, or to protect the vices of a great bad man.)

^m He might with truth have added, that he was undoubtedly the most fortunate man that ever lived, having always received the reward before the merit, and the appearance of having deserved it came afterwards, for which he expected, and constantly had a second gratification; till he had procured all the honours

1688. He was in high favour with the king. But his lady was much more in princess Anne's favour. She had an ascendant over her in every thing. She was a woman of little knowledge, but of a clear apprehension and a true judgment, a warm and hearty friend, violent and sudden in her resolutions, and impetuous in her way of speaking. She was thought proud and insolent on her favourⁿ. She stayed much at home, and looked very carefully after the education of her children. Having thus opened both their characters, I will now give an account of this lord's engagements in this matter; for which he has been so severely censured, as guilty both of ingratitude and treachery to a very kind and liberal master. He never discovered any of the king's secrets; nor did he ever

and wealth his own country could give him, and then obtained leave to be made a prince of the empire, with full liberty to pillage our allies, which he did so effectually, that at his death, no prince in Europe had the command of so much treasure. But he had the misfortune to lose his understanding, some time before he died, which in one sense made good Madam De Croise's prophecy, that he should be the greatest man in England, and then lose his head. D. (Such a prophecy of a violent death awaiting him, was attributed to the duke's mother in law Mrs. Jennings.)

ⁿ This she took care to prove in the scandalous memoirs she published a little before her own death, and had often

threatened to do so in the queen's lifetime, but was prevented, as sir Robert Walpole told me, by his telling her she would be tore in pieces in the streets if she did. But she shewed the queen's letters to every body, till Arthur Manwaring, a great favourite of hers, told her she exposed herself more than the queen, for they only confirmed what the world thought before, that her majesty had always been too fond of her. But it seems they were of too sublime a nature to be totally suppressed; though to her own and mistress's disgrace. D. ("Among other extravagancies she now declares, that she will print the queen's letters to her; letters writ whilst her majesty had the good opinion and fond-

push him on to any violent proceedings^o. So that he was in no contrivance to ruin or betray him. On the contrary, whensoever he spoke to the king of his affairs, which he did but seldom, because he could not fall in with the king's notions, he always suggested moderate counsels. The earl of Galway told me, that when he came over with the first compliment upon the king's coming to the crown, he said then to him, that, if the king was ever prevailed on to alter our religion, he would serve him no longer, but withdraw from him. So early was this resolution fixed in him^p. When he saw how the king was set, he could not be contented to see all ruined by him. He was also very doubtful as to the pretended birth. So he resolved, when the prince should come over, to go in to him^q; but to betray no post, nor do any thing more than the withdrawing himself, with such officers as he could

1688.

“ness for her, which her insolent behaviour since that time has absolutely eradicated.” Lord Bolingbroke's Letter in 1710. *Letters and Correspondence*, vol. I. p. 27. In the Autograph these words are added, “though she used none of the common arts of a court to maintain it: for she did not beset the prince, nor flatter her.” But they do not appear in the Transcript.)

^o (Lieutenant colonel Beaumont having been directed by the duke of Berwick to admit some Irish soldiers for recruits, refused to do it, and offered to lay down his commission rather

than comply. Accordingly he and those officers who joined with him were tried at a council of war, and cashiered: “when my lord Churchill moved to have them suffer death for their disobedience; foreseeing that such a piece of severity would reflect upon the king, and inflame the people.” *Life of King James II.* vol. II. p. 169. See below, p. 767.)

^p (So early was Churchill predicting to the Dutch the future misconduct of his benefactor, and intimating his own intention to leave him.)

^q What could he do more to a mortal enemy? S.

1688. trust with such a secret^r. He also undertook, that
 766 prince George and the princess Anne would leave
 the court, and come to the prince, as soon as was
 possible^s.

^r (Bishop Burnet, in vol. II. of his History, p. 92, folio edit. speaks of the messages, which admiral Russel carried to and fro between Churchill and the prince. His brother, George Churchill, went over with his ship to the prince at the revolution; and his brother-in-law Godfrey, a colonel in the army, who had married his sister, the duke of Berwick's mother, quitted the king's for the prince's service. Of the intention attributed to him to seize on the king's person in order to convey him to the prince of Orange's quarters, see an account by the king himself in his Life lately published, vol. II. p. 222: who says, that he had so far intimation of his design, that it was proposed to secure him. See also D'Orleans's Revolutions, p. 311, 312. and sir John Reresby's Memoirs, page 167. Compare Macpherson's Original Papers, vol. I. p. 280—284, and Doctor King's Anecdotes, page 125. The further charge against lord Churchill of his intending to assassinate the king in case of a failure of the attempt to seize him, rests on the alleged conversation and deathbed confession of lord Hewit, one of the supposed confederates. Lord Churchill's late biographer, after finding fault with Macpherson, is con-

tented with making the following observation: "Such tales " may find a momentary credit, when the passions of " men are heated; but at present, to mention is to refute " them." See Coxe's Memoirs of John Duke of Marlborough, vol. I. p. 31. True indeed it is, that all these accusations were contemporary. Mazure in his History of the Revolution attributes his defection from king James to his being disappointed of the command of the English regiments in the Dutch service, vol. II. p. 321. As to his imprisonment by William for corresponding with his old master, the fact of his having sent intelligence to the French of an expedition designed against them, gives him a preeminence in crime above his versatile and unprincipled contemporaries.)

^s That Mr. Russel did carry such assurances is most undoubtedly true; but how this is to be reconciled to the account given by the duchess of Marlborough, of the prince's (princess's) leaving the cockpit, her friends, if she has any, would do well to explain. At present it is made up of so many inconsistencies, that it is impossible any body should give credit to so ill a concerted romance. D. (Compare Ralph on this subject at

With these invitations and letters the earl of Shrewsbury and Russel came over in September^t: 1688. and soon after them came Sidney with Johnstoun. And they brought over a full scheme of advices, together with the heads of a declaration, all which were chiefly penned by lord Danby. He, and the earl of Devonshire, and the lord Lumly, undertook for the north: and they all dispersed themselves into their several counties, and among their friends. The thing was in the hands of many thousands, who yet were so true to one another, that none of them made any discovery, no, not

p. 1048 of his History; who mentions a little before, that the earl of Balcarras, in his Account of the Affairs of Scotland, p. 27, speaking of the earl of Argyle, and his desire to be of the Orange party, tells us, "that he could not be admitted, till his request had been made known to prince George; that the condition upon which he was to be admitted was, the taking an oath upon the sacrament, to go in to the prince of Orange whenever he landed; and that he took the said oath accordingly, in the presence of the (young) duke of Ormond, and a gentleman who belonged to the princess of Denmark."

^t (In the character of the princess of Denmark, afterwards our queen, inscribed on the pedestal of her statue at Blenheim, the duchess of Marlborough asserts, that it was the queen's greatest affliction to be forced to act against the

king her father even for *security*, and that her journey to Nottingham was never *concerted*, but occasioned by the great consternation she was under at the king's sudden return from Salisbury. "The manner of the flight," observes the Continuator of Mackintosh's *History of the Revolution*, "is described circumstantially by the duchess of Marlborough the contriver and manager of her escape. (*Conduct of the Duchess of Marlborough*, pp. 17, 18.) The duchess asserts that it was unpremeditated. The main facts stated by herself prove the contrary." ch. xxvi. p. 406. It is however probable that she left London the sooner on account of the king her father's unexpected return. She might dread his expostulations on the defection of her husband; but that she left him for security, is the unfounded assertion of the duchess.)

1688. by their rashness: though they were so confident, that they did not use so discreet a conduct as was necessary. Matters went on in Holland with great secrecy till September. Then it was known, that many arms were bespoke. And, though those were bargained for in the name of the king of Sweden, and of some of the princes of Germany, yet there was ground enough for suspicion. All those that were trusted proved both faithful and discreet. And here an eminent difference appeared between the hearty concurrence of those who went into a design upon principles of religion and honour, and the forced compliance of mercenary soldiers, or corrupt ministers, which is neither cordial nor secret. France took the alarm first, and gave it to the court of England.

The court
of France
gave the
alarm.

D'Avaux, the French ambassador, could no more give the court of France those advertisements that he was wont to send of all that passed in Holland. He had great allowances for entertaining agents and spies every where. But Louvoy, who hated him, suggested that there was no more need of these: so they were stopped: and the ambassador was not sorry that the court felt their error so sensibly. The king published the advertisements he had from France a little too rashly: for all people were much animated, when they heard it from such a hand. The king soon saw his error: and, to correct it, he said on many occasions, that whatever the designs of the Dutch might be, he was sure they were not against him. It was given out sometimes, that they were against France, and then that they were against Den-

mark^t. Yet the king shewed he was not without his fears: for he ordered fourteen more ships to be put to sea with many fireships. He recalled Strickland, and gave the command to the lord Dartmouth; who was indeed one of the worthiest men of his court: he loved him, and had been long in his service, and in his confidence: but he was much against all the conduct of his affairs: yet he resolved to stick to him at all hazards. 767 The seamen came in slowly: and a heavy backwardness appeared in every thing.

A new and unlooked for accident gave the king a very sensible trouble. It was resolved, as was told before, to model the army, and to begin with recruits from Ireland. Upon which the English army would have become insensibly an Irish one. The king made the first trial on the duke of Berwick's regiment, which being already under an

Recruits
from Ire-
land re-
fused.

^t (In addition to the assurance of Ronquillo the Spanish ambassador made to the king himself, that the Dutch armament was not designed against England, and the declaration of the Dutch ambassador van Citters to the same effect, with an intimation that they were intended against France; "the prince of Orange himself," writes the Continuator of Mackintosh's *History*, "gave James the same assurances of the absence of all hostile intentions, (MS. Memoirs of king James cited in his *Life*, vol. II. p. 177.) Lord Sunderland thus supported "by confederate testimony ridiculed the idea of a de-

"scent upon England, (ibid. "ubi supra, Barillon au Roi, "Sept. 18, 1688, Fox MSS.) "and had so great an influence, says James, over all "those that the king most "confided in, that not one of "them except my lord Dartmouth seemed to give any "credit to the report. (MS. Mem. of king James, ubi supra.) Bonrepaus returned to "France astonished at James's "disbelief and rejection of "the offer, with which he was "charged. The court of "France, says the compiler of "the *Life* from the king's "MS. Memoirs, was equally "astonished at his majesty's "surprising security.")

1688. illegal colonel, it might be supposed they were ready to submit to every thing. Five Irishmen were ordered to be put into every company of that regiment, which then lay at Portsmouth. But Beaumont, the lieutenant colonel, and five of the captains, refused to receive them^u. They said, they had raised their men upon the duke of Monmouth's invasion, by which their zeal for the king's service did evidently appear. If the king would order any recruits, they doubted not, but that they should be able to make them. But they found, it would give such an universal discontent, if they should receive the Irish among them, that it would put them out of a capacity of serving the king any more. But as the order was positive, so the duke of Berwick was sent down to see it obeyed. Upon which they desired leave to lay down their commissions. The king was provoked by this to such a degree that he could not govern his passion. The officers were put in arrest, and brought before a council of war, where they were broken with reproach, and declared incapable to serve the king any more^x. But upon

^u (It is more remarkable, that this lieutenant colonel should have been a Roman catholic, as it is said in the *True Briton*, No. XX. a periodical publication so called, than that one of his captains, according to the same writer, was afterwards a nonjuror. It is mentioned in the *Ellis Correspondence*, vol. II. p. 184, that one of the captains was Paston, brother of

the earl of Yarmouth; probably the very gentleman, from what is still remembered of the descendants of the family, Sir Theophilus Oglethorpe, a faithful adherent to king James, expresses his sorrow at Beaumont's being broke, in an unpublished letter to secretary Brathwaite dated September in this year.)

^x (This was a most barefaced and dangerous attempt,

this occasion the whole officers of the army declared so great an unwillingness to mix with those of another nation and religion, that, as no more attempts were made of this kind, so it was believed that this fixed the king in a point that was then under debate. 1688.

The king of France, when he gave the king the advertisements of the preparations in Holland, offered him such a force as he should call for. Twelve or fifteen thousand were named, or as many more as he should desire. It was proposed, that they should land at Portsmouth, and that they should have that place to keep the communication with France open, and in their hands. All the priests were for this: so were most of the popish lords. The earl of Sunderland was the only man in credit that opposed it. He said, the offer of an army of forty thousand men might be a real strength: but then it would depend on the orders that came from France: they might perhaps master England: but they would become the king's masters at the same time: so that he must govern under such orders as they should give: and thus he would quickly become only a viceroy to the king of France: any army less than that would lose the king the affections of his people, and drive his own army to desertion, if not to mutiny. 768

The king did not think matters were yet so near a crisis: so he did neither entertain the pro-

Offers made
by the
French.

Not enter-
tained at
that time.

which, had it succeeded, must have endangered the liberty of the country; and would probably have ended in a bloody contest between the oppressors and the oppressed.)

1688. position, nor let it fall quite to the ground. There was a treaty set on foot, and the king was to have a hundred merchant ships ready for the transportation of such forces as he should desire, which it was promised should be ready when called for. It is certain that the French ambassador then at London, who knew the court better than he did the nation, did believe, that the king would have been able to have made a greater division of the nation, than it proved afterwards he was able to do. He believed it would have gone to a civil war; and that then the king would have been forced to have taken assistance from France on any terms: and so he encouraged the king of France to go on with his designs that winter, and he believed he might come in good time next year to the king's assistance. These advices proved fatal to the king, and to Barillon himself: for when he was sent over to France, he was so ill looked on, that it was believed it had an ill effect on his health; for he died soon after^y.

Albeville came over fully persuaded that the Dutch designed the expedition against England, but played the minister so, that he took pains to infuse into all people that they designed no such thing; which made him to be generally laughed

^y (Barillon, according to Echard, in his Hist. of the Revolution, before the meeting of the convention, appeared extraordinarily active and busy in promoting divisions among the peers; upon which the prince of Orange sent an ex-

press order to that minister to leave the kingdom in twenty-four hours. He demanded a longer time, but being refused, unwillingly left London, p. 218. This ambassador of France was sent away under a Dutch guard as far as Dover.)

at. He was soon sent back: and in a memorial 1688.
 he gave into the States, he asked what was the
 design of those great and surprising preparations
 at such a season. The States, according to their
 slow forms, let this lie long before them, without
 giving it an answer.

But the court of France made a greater step. The French own an alliance with the king.
 The French ambassador in a memorial told the
 States, that his master understood their design
 was against England, and in that case he signified
 to them, that there was such a strait alliance be-
 tween him and the king of England, that he
 would look on every thing done against England
 as an invasion of his own crown. This put the
 king and his ministers much out of countenance:
 for, upon some surmises of an alliance with France,
 they had very positively denied there was any
 such thing. Albeville did continue to deny it at
 the Hague, even after the memorial was put in.
 The king did likewise deny it to the Dutch am-
 bassador at London. And the blame of the put-
 ting it into the memorial was cast on Shelton, the
 king's envoy at Paris, who was disowned in it, and
 upon his coming over was put in the tower for it.
 This was a short disgrace; for he was soon after
 made lieutenant of the tower. His rash folly
 might have procured the order from the court of 769
 France to own this alliance: he thought it would
 terrify the States: and so he pressed this officiously,
 which they easily granted. That related only to
 the owning it in so public manner. But this did
 clearly prove, that such an alliance was made^z:

^z And who can blame him, if in such a necessity he made
 that alliance? S.

1688. otherwise no instances, how pressing soever, would have prevailed with the court of France to have owned it in so solemn a manner: for what ambassadors say in their master's name, when they are not immediately disowned, passes for authentic. So that it was a vain cavil that some made afterwards, when they asked, how was this alliance proved? The memorial was a full proof of it: and the shew of a disgrace on Shelton did not at all weaken that proof^a.

But I was more confirmed of this matter by what sir William Trumball, then the English ambassador at Constantinople, told me at his return to England. He was the eminentest of all our civilians, and was by much the best pleader in

^a (Ralph observes, that what was policy in the prince of Orange and the States, passed on their dependents as conviction. The bishop, he adds, did not consider, that the words *amity* and *alliance*, which are the very words of the memorial, are indefinite, and seem rather to relate to a general, than any particular engagement; neither did he recollect, that even lord Sunderland, in his apology, makes use of these expressions: "I cannot omit saying something of France, there having been so much talk of a league between the two kings. I do protest, I never knew of any." Nor that he himself had just before said, that the king did neither entertain the proposition made by Bonrepaus, nor let it fall quite to the ground. Concerning the memorial present-

ed by Albeville, in which offers were made to take measures with the Dutch for maintaining the peace of Nimeguen, the bishop is silent. Ralph's *Hist. of England*, vol. I. page 1008, 1011. Compare Mazure's *Histoire de la Révolution*, tom. III. Respecting Bonrepaus's proposal consult the *Continuation* of Mackintosh's *History of the Revolution*, ch. 12. p. 373—376, where it is stated on the authority of the letters of the Spanish and Dutch ambassadors, that they both assured their respective governments that the overtures made by Bonrepaus were declined by James. As to Albeville's memorial, mentioned by Ralph, it was mean and ungenerous in king James, considering the terms he was on at that time with Louis, to offer to join the league against him.)

those courts, and was a learned, a diligent, and a virtuous man. He was sent envoy to Paris upon the lord Preston's being recalled. He was there when the edict that repealed the edict of Nantes was passed, and saw the violence of the persecution, and acted a great and worthy part in harbouring many, in covering their effects, and in conveying over their jewels and plate to England; which disgusted the court of France, and was not very acceptable to the court of England, though it was not then thought fit to disown or recall him for it. He had orders to put in memorials, complaining of the invasion of the principality of Orange; which he did in so high a strain, that the last of them was like a denunciation of war. From thence he was sent to Turkey. And, about this time, he was surprised one morning by a visit that the French ambassador made him, without those ceremonies that pass between ambassadors. He told him, there was no ceremony to be between them any more; for their masters were now one. And he shewed him Monsieur de Croissy's letter, which was written in cipher. The deciphering he read to him, importing that now an alliance was concluded between the two kings. So this matter was as evidently proved, as a thing of such a nature could possibly be.

The conduct of France at that time with relation to the States was very unaccountable; and proved as favourable to the prince of Orange's designs, as if he had directed it. All the manufacture of Holland, both linen and woollen, was prohibited in France. The importation of herrings

1688.

The strange
conduct of
France.

1688. was also prohibited, except they were cured with
French salt. This was contrary to the treaty of
commerce. The manufacture began to suffer
770 much. And this was sensible to those who were
concerned in the herring trade. So the States
prohibited the importing of French wine or brandy,
till the trade should be set free again of both
sides. There was nothing that the prince had
more reason to apprehend, than that the French
should have given the States some satisfaction in
the point of trade, and offered some assurances
with relation to the territory of Colen. Many of
the towns of Holland might have been wrought
on by some temper in these things; great bodies
being easily deceived, and not easily drawn into
wars, which interrupt that trade which they sub-
sist by. But the height the court of France was
then in, made them despise all the world. They
seemed rather to wish for a war, than to fear it.
This disposed the States to an unanimous concur-
rence in the great resolutions that were now
agreed on, of raising ten thousand men more, and
of accepting thirteen thousand Germans, for whom
the prince had, as was formerly mentioned, agreed
with some of the princes of the empire. Amster-
dam was at first cold in the matter: but they con-
sented with the rest. Reports were given out,
that the French would settle a regulation of com-
merce, and that they would abandon the cardinal,
and leave the affairs of Colen to be settled by the
laws of the empire. Expedients were also spoke
of for accommodating the matter, by prince Cle-
ment's being admitted coadjutor, and by his having

some of the strong places put in his hands. This 1688.
was only given out to amuse.

But while these things were discoursed of at the Hague, the world was surprised with a manifesto, set out, in the king of France's name, against the emperor. In it, the emperor's ill designs against France were set forth. It also complained of the elector palatine's injustice to the duchess of Orleans, in not giving her the succession that fell to her by her brother's death, which consisted in some lands, cannon, furniture, and other moveable goods. It also charged him with the disturbances in Colen, he having intended first to gain that to one of his own sons, and then engaging the Bavarian prince into it; whose elder brother having no children, he hoped, by bringing him into an ecclesiastical state, to make the succession of Bavaria fall into his own family. It charged the emperor likewise with a design to force the electors to choose his son king of the Romans; and that the elector palatine was pressing him to make peace with the Turks, in order to the turning his arms against France. By their means a great alliance was projected among many protestant princes to disturb cardinal Furstemberg in the possession of Colen, to which he was postulated by the majority of the chapter. And this might turn to the prejudice of the catholic religion in that territory. Upon all these considerations, the king of France, seeing that his enemies could not enter into France by any other way but by that of Philipsburgh, resolved to possess himself of it, and then to demolish it. He resolved also to

A mani-
festo of
war against
the empire.

1688. take Kaisarslauter from the palatine, and to keep it, till the duchess of Orleans had justice done her in her pretensions. And he also resolved to support the cardinal in his possession of Colen. But, to balance this, he offered to the house of Bavaria, that prince Clement should be chosen coadjutor. He offered also to rase Fribourg, and to restore Kaisarslauter, as soon as the elector palatine should pay the duchess of Orleans the just value of her pretensions. He demanded, that the truce between him and the empire should be turned into a peace, and the forts which he had built for the security of his subjects might be included in the peace. He proposed, that the king of England and the republic of Venice should be the mediators of this peace. And he concluded all, declaring that he would not bind himself to stand to the conditions now offered by him, unless they were accepted of before January.

Reflections
made upon
it.

I have given a full abstract of this manifesto: for upon it did the great war begin, which lasted till the peace of Ryswick. And, upon the grounds laid down in this manifesto, it will evidently appear, whether the war was a just one or not. This declaration was much censured, both for the matter and for the style. It had not the air of greatness, which became crowned heads. The duchess of Orleans's pretensions to old furniture was a strange rise to a war; especially when it was not alleged, that these had been demanded in the forms of law, and that justice had been denied, which was a course necessarily to be observed in things of that nature. The judging of the secret

intentions of the elector palatine, with relation to the house of Bavaria, was absurd. And the complaints of designs to bring the emperor to a peace with the Turks, that so he might make war on France, and of the emperor's design to force an election of a king of the Romans, was the entering into the secrets of those princes' thoughts which were only known to God. Such conjectures, so remote and uncertain, and that could not be proved, were a strange ground of war. If this was once admitted, all treaties of peace were vain things, and were no more to be reckoned or relied on. The reason given of the intention to take Philipsbourg, because it was the properest place by which France could be invaded, was a throwing off all regards to the common decencies observed by princes. All fortified places on frontiers are intended both for resistance and for magazines; and are of both sides conveniences for entering into the neighbouring territory, as there is occasion for it. So here was a pretence set up, of beginning a war, that puts an end to all the securities of peace. 1688.

The business of Colen was judged by the pope, according to the laws of the empire: and his sentence was final: nor could the postulation of the majority of the chapter be valid, unless two-thirds joined in it. The cardinal was commended in the manifesto, for his care in preserving the peace of Europe. This was ridiculous to all, who knew that he had been for many years the great incendiary, who had betrayed the empire, chiefly in the year 1672. The charge that the emperor's agent

1688. had laid on him before the chapter was also complained of, as an infraction of the amnesty stipulated by the peace of Nimeguen. He was not called to an account, in order to be punished for any thing done before that peace. But that did not bind up the emperor from endeavouring to exclude him from so great a dignity, which was like to prove fatal to the empire. These were some of the censures that passed on this manifesto; which was indeed looked on, by all who had considered the rights of peace and the laws of war, as one of the most avowed and solemn declarations, that ever was made, of the perfidiousness of that court. And it was thought to be some degrees beyond that in the year 1672, in which that king's glory was pretended as the chief motive of that war. For, in that, particulars were not reckoned up: so it might be supposed, he had met with affronts, which he did not think consistent with his greatness to be mentioned. But here all that could be thought on, even the hangings of Heidelberg, were enumerated: and all together amounted to this, that the king of France thought himself tied by no peace; but that, when he suspected his neighbours were intending to make war upon him, he might upon such a suspicion begin a war on his part^b.

Another
against the
pope.

This manifesto against the emperor was followed by another against the pope, writ in the form of a letter to cardinal D'Estrées, to be given by him to the pope. In it, he reckoned up all the partiality that the pope had shewed during his

^b The common maxim of princes. S.

1688.

whole pontificate, both against France and in favour of the house of Austria. He mentioned the business of the regale; his refusing the bulls to the bishops nominated by him; the dispute about the franchises, of which his ambassadors had been long in possession; the denying audience, not only to his ambassador, but to a gentleman whom he had sent to Rome without a character, and with a letter writ in his own hand: in conclusion, he complained of the pope's breaking the canons of the church, in granting bulls in favour of prince Clement, and in denying justice to cardinal Furstenberg: for all these reasons the king was resolved to separate the character of the most holy 773 father from that of a temporal prince: and therefore he intended to seize on Avignon, as likewise on Castro, until the pope should satisfy the pretensions of the duke of Parma. He complained of the pope's not concurring with him in the concerns of the church, for the extirpation of heresy: in which the pope's behaviour gave great scandal both to the old catholics and to the new converts. It also gave the prince of Orange the boldness to go and invade the king of England, under the pretence of supporting the protestant religion, but indeed to destroy the catholic religion, and to overturn the government^c. Upon which his emissaries and the writers in Holland gave out,

^c (It appears from cardinal D'Estrée's two letters, published by Dalrymple in the Appendix to his Memoirs, p. 240—253, that the pope highly approved of the league against

France; and that the intended alteration of the English government was spoken of at Rome near a year before it took place.)

1688. that the birth of the prince of Wales was an imposture.

Censures
that passed
upon it.

This was the first public mention that was made of the imposture of that birth: for the author of a book writ to that purpose was punished for it in Holland^d. It was strange to see the disputes about the franchises made a pretence for a war: for certainly all sovereign princes can make such regulations as they think fit in those matters. If they cut ambassadors short in any privilege, their ambassadors are to expect the same treatment from other princes: and as long as the sacredness of an ambassador's person and of his family was still preserved, which was all that was a part of the law of nations, princes may certainly limit the extent of their other privileges, and may refuse any ambassadors who will not submit to their regulation. The number of an ambassador's retinue is not a thing that can be well defined: but if an ambassador comes with an army about him, instead of a retinue, he may be denied admittance. And if he forces it, as Lavardin had done, it was certainly an act of hostility: and, instead of having a right to the character of an ambassador, he might well be considered and treated as an enemy.

The pope had observed the canons in rejecting cardinal Furstemberg's defective postulation. And, whatever might be brought from ancient canons, the practice of that church for many ages allowed

^d (The first mention of it in a state or official manifesto is intended. King James's representative in Holland, Albeville, published a defence of the prince of Wales's legitimacy. See *The Ellis Correspondence*, vol. II. p. 372.

of the dispensations that the pope granted to prince Clement. It was looked on by all people as a strange reverse of things, to see the king of France, after all his cruelty to the protestants, now go to make war on the pope; and on the other hand to see the whole protestant body concurring to support the authority of the pope's bulls in the business of Colen; and to defend the two houses of Austria and Bavaria, by whom they were laid so low but threescore years before this. The French, by the war that they had now begun, had sent their troops towards Germany and the upper Rhine; and so had rendered their sending an army over to England impracticable: nor could they send such a force into the bishopric of Colen as could any ways alarm the States. So that the invasion of Germany made the designs that the prince of Orange was engaged in both practicable and safe. 1688. 774

Marshal Schomberg came at this time into the country of Cleve. He was a German by birth: so when the persecution was begun in France, he desired leave to return into his own country. That was denied him. All the favour he could obtain was leave to go to Portugal. And so cruel is the spirit of popery, that, though he had preserved that kingdom from falling under the yoke of Castille, yet now that he came thither for refuge, the inquisition represented that matter of giving harbour to a heretic so odiously to the king, that he was forced to send him away. He came from thence, first to England; and then he passed through Holland, where he entered into a parti-

Marshal
Schomberg
sent to
Cleve.

1688. cular confidence with the prince of Orange. And being invited by the old elector of Brandenburg, he went to Berlin: where he was made governor of Prussia, and set at the head of all the elector's armies. The son treated him now with the same regard that the father had for him: and sent him to Cleve, to command the troops that were sent from the empire to the defence of Colen. The cardinal offered a neutrality to the town of Colen. But they chose rather to accept a garrison that Schomberg sent them: by which not only that town was secured, but a stop was put to any progress the French could make, till they could get that great town into their hands. By these means the States were safe on all hands for this winter: and this gave the prince of Orange great quiet in prosecuting his desigus upon England. He had often said, that he would never give occasion to any of his enemies to say, that he had carried away the best force of the States, and had left them exposed to any impressions that might be made on them in his absence. He had now reason to conclude, that he had no other risk to run in his intended expedition, but that of the seas and the weather. The seas were then very boisterous: and the season of the year was so far spent, that he saw he was to have a campaign in winter. But all other things were now well secured by this too early, therefore very weak^e conduct of the French.

The Dutch
fleet at sea.

There was a fleet now set to sea of about fifty

^e ("Too early, therefore very weak," one of the Suppressed Passages.)

sail. Most of them were third or fourth rates, 1688.
 commanded by Dutch officers. But Herbert, as
 representing the prince's person, was to command
 in chief, as lieutenant-general-admiral. This was
 not very easy to the States, nor indeed to the
 prince himself; who thought it an absurd thing to
 set a stranger at the head of their fleet. Nothing **775**
 less would content Herbert. And it was said,
 that nothing would probably make the English
 fleet come over, and join with the prince, so much
 as the seeing one that had lately commanded
 them at the head of the Dutch fleet^f. There was
 a transport fleet hired for carrying over the army.
 And this grew to be about five hundred vessels:
 for, though the horse and dragoons in pay were
 not four thousand, yet the horses for officers and
 volunteers, and for artillery and baggage, were
 above seven thousand. There were arms pro-
 vided for twenty thousand more. And, all things
 were thus made ready.

The declaration that the prince was to publish The prince
of Orange's
declaration. came to be considered. A great many draughts
 were sent from England by different hands. All
 these were put in the pensioner Fagel's hands,
 who upon that made a long and heavy draught,
 founded on the grounds of the civil law, and of
 the law of nations. That was brought to me to
 be put in English. I saw he was fond of his own
 draught: and the prince left that matter wholly
 to him: yet I got it to be much shortened,

^f This would have been a good reason for setting Russel at the head of the fleet, but was the reverse for putting Herbert there, who was the most universally hated by the seamen of any man that ever commanded at sea. D.

1688. though it was still too long. It set forth at first a long recital of all the violations of the laws of England, both with relation to religion, to the civil government, and to the administration of justice, which have been all opened in the series of the history. It set forth next all remedies that had been tried in a gentler way; all which had been ineffectual. Petitioning by the greatest persons, and in the privatest manner, was made a crime. Endeavours were used to pack a parliament, and to preengage both the votes of the electors, and the votes of such as upon the election should be returned to sit in parliament. The writs were to be addressed to unlawful officers, who were disabled by law to execute them: so that no legal parliament could now be brought together. In conclusion, the reasons of suspecting an imposture in the queen's pretended delivery were set forth in general terms. Upon these grounds the prince, seeing how little hope was left of succeeding in any other method, and being sensible of the ruin both of the protestant religion, and of the constitution of England and Ireland, that was imminent, and being earnestly invited by men of all ranks, and in particular by many of the peers, both spiritual and temporal, he resolved, according to the obligation he lay under, both on the princess's account and on his own, to go over into England, and to see for proper and effectual remedies for redressing such growing evils in a parliament that should be lawfully chosen, and should sit in full freedom, according to the ancient custom and constitution of England, with which

he would concur in all things that might tend to the peace and happiness of the nation. And he promised in particular, that he would preserve the church and the established religion, and that he would endeavour to unite all such as divided from the church to it by the best means that could be thought on, and that he would suffer such as would live peaceably to enjoy all due freedom in their consciences, and that he would refer the inquiry into the queen's delivery to a parliament, and acquiesce in its decision. This the prince signed and sealed on the tenth of October. With this the prince ordered letters to be writ in his name, inviting both the soldiers, seamen, and others, to come and join with him, in order to the securing their religion, laws, and liberties. Another short paper was drawn by me concerning the measures of obedience, justifying the design, and answering the objections that might be made to it. Of all these many thousand copies were printed, to be dispersed at our landing.

The prince desired me to go along with him as his chaplain, to which I very readily agreed: for, being fully satisfied in my conscience that the undertaking was lawful and just, and having had a considerable hand in advising the whole progress of it, I thought it would have been an unbecoming fear in me to have taken care of my own person, when the prince was venturing his, and the whole was now to be put to hazard. It is true, I being a Scotch man by birth, had reason to expect, that, if I had fallen into the enemies hands, I should have been sent to Scotland, and put to the tor-

1688.

776

I was desired to go with the prince.

1688. ture there^f. And, having this in prospect, I took care to know no particulars of any one of those who corresponded with the prince. So that knowing nothing against any, even torture it self could not have drawn from me that by which any person could be hurt^g. There was another declaration prepared for Scotland. But I had no other share in that, but that I corrected it in several places, chiefly in that which related to the church: for the Scots at the Hague, who were all presbyterians, had drawn it so, that, by many passages in it, the prince by an implication declared in favour of presbytery. He did not see what the consequences of those were, till I explained them. So he ordered them to be altered. And by the declaration that matter was still entire^h.

Advices
from Eng-
land.

As Sidney brought over letters from the persons formerly mentioned, both inviting the prince to come over to save and rescue the nation from ruin, and assuring him that they wrote that which was the universal sense of all the wise and good men in the nation: so they also sent over with him a scheme of advices. They advised his having a great fleet, but a small army: they thought, it

^f (Macaulay in his History of England, II. 7. p. 345, citing Barillon the French ambassador's Correspondence with his master, relates that the latter concurred in the unwarrantable design of seizing on our author's person, for the purpose of bringing him to a trial.)

^g Well said Scot! *Cole*.

^h The more shame for king

William, who changed it. S. (King William, who was bred in Holland a Calvinist, could scarcely be expected to support episcopacy in Scotland, where the bishops would not support king William. See also what is mentioned by the author in vol. II. folio edit. of his History, p. [357.] a second enumeration of the pages after p.360.)

should not exceed six or seven thousand men. 1688.
They apprehended, that an ill use might be made ⁷⁷⁷
of it, if he brought over too great an army of
foreigners, to infuse in people a jealousy that he
designed a conquest: they advised his landing in
the north, either in Burlington bay, or a little
below Hull: Yorkshire abounded in horse: and the
gentry were generally well affected, even to zeal,
for the design: the country was plentiful, and the
roads were good till within fifty miles of London.
The earl of Danby was earnest for this, hoping to
have had a share in the whole management by the
interest he believed he had in that country. It
was confessed, that the western counties were well
affected: but it was said, that the miscarriage of
Monmouth's invasion, and the executions which
followed it, had so dispirited them, that it could
not be expected they would be forward to join
the prince: above all things they pressed despatch,
and all possible haste: the king had then but
eighteen ships riding in the Downs: but a much
greater fleet was almost ready to come out: they
only wanted seamen, who came in very slowly.

When these things were laid before the prince,
he said, he could by no means resolve to come
over with so small a force: he could not believe
what they suggested, concerning the king's army's
being disposed to come over to him: nor did he
reckon, so much as they did, on the people of the
country's coming in to him: he said, he could
trust to neither of these: he could not undertake
so great a design, the miscarriage of which would
be the ruin both of England and Holland, without
such a force, as he had reason to believe would be

1688. superior to the king's own, though his whole army should stick to him. Some proposed, that the prince would divide his force, and land himself with the greatest part in the north, and send a detachment to the west under marshal Schomberg. They pressed the prince very earnestly to bring him over with him, both because of the great reputation he was in, and because they thought it was a security to the prince's person, and to the whole design, to have another general with him, to whom all would submit in case of any dismal accident: for it seemed too much to have all depend on a single life: and they thought that would be the safer, if their enemies saw another person capable of the command, in case they should have a design upon the prince's person. With this the prince complied easily, and obtained the elector's consent to carry him over with him. But he rejected the motion of dividing his fleet and army. He said, such a divided force might be fatal: for if the king should send his chief strength against the detachment, and have the advantage, it might lose the whole business; since a misfortune in any one part might be the ruin of the whole.

778 When these advices were proposed to Herbert and the other seamen, they opposed the landing in the north vehemently. They said, no seamen had been consulted in that: the north coast was not fit for a fleet to ride in, in an east wind, which it was to be expected in winter might blow so fresh that it would not be possible to preserve the fleet: and if the fleet was left there, the channel was open for such forces as might be sent from

France: the channel was the safer sea for the fleet to ride in, as well as to cut off the assistance from France. Yet the advices for this were so positive, and so often repeated from England, that the prince was resolved to have split the matter, and to have landed in the north, and then to have sent the fleet to lie in the channel. 1688.

The prince continued still to cover his design, and to look towards Colen. He ordered a review of his army, and an encampment for two months at Nimeguen. A train of artillery was also ordered. By these orders the officers saw a necessity of furnishing themselves for so long a time. The main point remained, how money should be found for so chargeable an expedition. The French ambassador had his eye upon this; and reckoned that, whensoever any thing relating to it should be moved, it would be then easy to raise an opposition, or at least to create a delay. But Fagel's great foresight did prevent this. In the July before, it was represented to the States, that now by reason of the neighbourhood of Colen, and the war that was like to arise there, it was necessary to repair their places, both on the Rhine and the Issel, which were in a very bad condition. This was agreed to: and the charge was estimated at four millions of guilders. So the States created a fund for the interest of that money, and ordered it to be taken up by a loan. It was all brought in in four days. About the end of September a message was delivered to the States from the elector of Brandenburg, by which he undertook to send an army into his country of Cleve, and to

Artifices to
cover the
design.

1688. secure the States from all danger on that side for this winter.

Upon this, it was proposed to lend the prince the four millions. And this passed easily in the States, without any opposition, to the amazement of all that saw it^h: for it had never been known, that so great and so dangerous an expedition in such a season had been so easily agreed to, without so much as one disagreeing vote, either at the Hague, or in any of the towns of Holland. All people went so cordially into it, that it was not necessary to employ much time in satisfying them, both of the lawfulness and of the necessity of the undertaking. Fagel had sent for all the eminent
779 ministers of the chief towns of Holland: and, as he had a vehemence as well as a tenderness in speaking, he convinced them evidently, that both their religion and their country were in such imminent danger, that nothing but this expedition could save them: they saw the persecution in France: and in that they might see what was to be expected from that religion: they saw the violence with which the king of England was driving matters in his country, which, if not stopped, would soon prevail. He sent them therefore full of zeal to dispose the people to a hearty approbation and concurrence in this design. The ministers in Holland are so watched over by the States, that they have no more authority when they meet in a body, in a synod, or in a classis, than the

^h It is well known that the Dutch wanted to get rid of the prince of Orange; which made them so ready to furnish him for his invasion. *Cole.*

States think fit to allow them. But I was never 1688.
in any place, where I thought the clergy had
generally so much credit with the people, as they
have there : and they employed it all upon this
occasion very diligently, and to good purpose.
Those who had no regard to religion, yet saw a
war begun in the empire by the French. And
the publication of the alliance between France
and England by the French ambassador, made
them conclude that England would join with
France. They reckoned they could not stand be-
fore such an united force, and that therefore it
was necessary to take England out of the hands
of a prince who was such a firm ally to France.
All the English that lived in Holland, especially
the merchants that were settled at Amsterdam,
where the opposition was like to be strongest, had
such positive advices of the disposition that the
nation and even the army were in, that, as this
undertaking was considered as the only probable
means of their preservation, it seemed so well
concerted, that little doubt was made of success,
except what arose from the season ; which was not
only far spent, but the winds were both so contrary
and so stormy for many weeks, that a forcible stop
seemed put to it by the hand of Heaven.

Herbert went to sea with the Dutch fleet : and
was ordered to stand over to the Downs, and to
look on the English fleet, to try if any would come
over, of which some hopes were given ; or to
engage them, while they were then not above
eighteen or twenty ships strong. But the con-
trary winds made this not only impracticable, but

The Dutch
put to sea.

1688. gave great reason to fear that a great part of the fleet would be either lost or disabled. These continued for above a fortnight, and gave us at the Hague a melancholy prospect. Herbert also found, that the fleet was neither so strong nor so well manned as he had expected.

780 All the English that were scattered about the Provinces, or in Germany, came to the Hague. Among these there was one Wildman, who, from being an agitator in Cromwell's army, had been a constant meddler on all occasions in every thing that looked like sedition, and seemed inclined to oppose every thing that was uppermost. He brought his usual ill humour along with him, having a peculiar talent in possessing others by a sort of contagion with jealousy and discontent. To these the prince ordered his declaration to be shewed. Wildman took great exceptions to it, with which he possessed many to such a degree, that they began to say, they would not engage upon those grounds. Wildman had drawn one, in which he had laid down a scheme of the government of England, and then had set forth many particulars in which it had been violated, carrying these a great way into king Charles's reign; all which he supported by many authorities from law books. He objected to the prince's insisting so much on the dispensing power, and on what had been done to the bishops. He said, there was certainly a dispensing power in the crown, practised for some ages: very few patents passed in which there was not a *non obstante* to one or more acts of parliament: this power had

Some factious motions at the Hague.

been too far stretched of late : but the stretching of a power that was in the crown could not be a just ground of war : the king had a right to bring any man to a trial : the bishops had a fair trial, and were acquitted, and discharged upon it : in all which there was nothing done contrary to law. All this seemed mysterious, when a known republican was become an advocate for prerogative. His design in this was deep and spiteful. He saw that, as the declaration was drawn, the church party would come in, and be well received by the prince : so he, who designed to separate the prince and them at the greatest distance from one another, studied to make the prince declare against those grievances, in which many of them were concerned, and which some among them had promoted. The earl of Macclesfield, with the lord Mordaunt, and many others, joined with him in this^k. But the earl of Shrewsbury, together with Sidney, Russel, and some others, were as positive in their opinion, that the prince ought not to look

1688.

^k (Ralph remarks on this passage, that he had been assured, that in the margin of bishop Burnet's History, now remaining in the Peterborough family, there are several direct contradictions, in the broadest terms, to several passages of it in the late earl's own hand. Hist. of England, page 1023. Perhaps, however, this passage was not amongst those excepted against by lord Mordaunt, afterwards earl of Peterborough ; for Pope, in a letter to Miss Blount, giving

her an account of a visit he had made the earl a little before that nobleman's death, in the year 1735, reports him to have said, " that he had " one care more, when he " went into France, which was " to give a true account to " posterity of some parts of " history in queen Anne's " reign, which Burnet had " scandalously misrepresented, and of some others, to " justify himself against the " imputation of intending to " bring in the pretender,

1688. so far back as into king Charles's reign : this would
 ——— disgust many of the nobility and gentry, and al-
 most all the clergy : so they thought the decla-
 ration was to be so conceived, as to draw in the
 body of the whole nation : they were all alarmed
 with the dispensing power : and it would seem
 very strange to see an invasion, in which this was
 not set out as the main ground of it : every man
 could distinguish between the dispensing with a
 781 special act in a particular case, and a total dis-
 pensing with laws made to secure the nation and
 the religion : the ill designs of the court, as well
 as the affections of the nation, had appeared so
 evidently in the bishops' trial, that if no notice
 was taken of it, it would be made use of to pos-
 sess all people with an opinion of the prince's ill
 will to them. Russel said, that any reflections on
 king Charles's reign would not only carry over all
 the high church party, but all the army, entirely
 to the king. Wildman's declaration was much
 objected to. The prince could not enter into a
 discussion of the law and government of England :
 that was to be left to the parliament : the prince
 could only set forth the present and public griev-
 ances, as they were transmitted to him by those

" which to his knowledge
 " neither of her ministers,
 " Oxford and Bolingbroke,
 " nor she, had any design to
 " do." *Supplementary Volume*
of Pope's Works, 1807, 8vo.
 p. 395. Probably however,
 lord Peterborough's anger
 against Burnet, which Ralph
 mentions, was principally oc-
 casioned by the account the

bishop had given of his lord-
 ship's conduct during king
 William's reign in the case of
 sir John Fenwick. His re-
 sentment would have been still
 greater, had he seen what our
 author originally added re-
 specting him ; but the passage
 is marked for deletion in the
 Autograph of his History, as
 well as in the Transcript.)

upon whose invitation he was going over. This was 1688.
not without some difficulty overcome, by altering
some few expressions in the first draught, and
leaving out some circumstances. So the declaration
was printed over again, with some amendments.

In the beginning of October the troops marched The army
was ship-
ped. from Nimeguen were put on board in the Zuyder
sea, where they lay above ten days before they
could get out of the Texel. Never was so great
a design executed in so short a time. A trans-
port fleet of five hundred vessels was hired in
three days' time. All things, as soon as they were
ordered, were got to be so quickly ready, that
we were amazed at the despatch. It is true, some
things were wanting, and some things had been
forgot. But when the greatness of the equipage
was considered, together with the secrecy with
which it was to be conducted till the whole de-
sign was to be avowed, it seemed much more
strange that so little was wanting, or that so few
things had been forgot. Benthink, Dykvelt, Her-
bert, and Van Hulst, were for two months con-
stantly at the Hague, giving all necessary orders,
with so little noise that nothing broke out all that
while. Even in lesser matters favourable circum-
stances concurred to cover the design. Benthink
used to be constantly with the prince, being the
person that was most entirely trusted and con-
stantly employed by him: so that his absence
from him, being so extraordinary a thing, might
have given some umbrage. But all the summer
his lady was so very ill, that she was looked on
every day as one that could not live three days

1688. to an end: so that this was a very just excuse for his attendance at the Hague.

The princess's sense of things.

I waited on the princess a few days before we left the Hague. She seemed to have a great load on her spirits, but to have no scruple as to the lawfulness of the design. After much other discourse, I said, that if we got safe to England, I made no great doubt of our success in all other things. I only begged her pardon to tell her, that if there should happen to be at any time any disjoining between the prince and her, that would ruin all. She answered me, that I needed fear no such thing: if any person should attempt that, she would treat them so, as to discourage all others from venturing on it for the future. She was very solemn and serious, and prayed God earnestly to bless and direct us.

The prince took leave of the States.

On the sixteenth of October, O.S. the wind that had stood so long in the west, came into the east. So orders were sent to all to haste to Helvoet-Sluis. That morning the prince went into the assembly of the states general, to take leave of them. He said to them, he was extreme sensible of the kindness they had all shewed him upon many occasions: he took God to witness, he had served them faithfully, ever since they had trusted him with the government, and that he had never any end before his eyes but the good of the country: he had pursued it always: and if at any time he erred in his judgment, yet his heart was ever set on procuring their safety and prosperity. He took God to witness, he went to England with no other intentions, but those he

had set out in his declaration^k: he did not know 1688.
 how God might dispose of him: to his providence
 he committed himself: whatsoever might become
 of him, he committed to them the care of their
 country, and recommended the princess to them
 in a most particular manner: he assured them,
 she loved their country perfectly, and equally with
 her own: he hoped, that whatever might happen
 to him, they would still protect her, and use her
 as she well deserved: and so he took leave. It
 was a sad, but a kind parting. Some of every
 province offered at an answer to what the prince
 had said: but they all melted into tears and pas-
 sion: so that their speeches were much broken,
 very short, and extreme tender. Only the prince
 himself continued firm in his usual gravity and
 phlegm. When he came to Helvoet-Sluis, the
 transport fleet had consumed so much of their
 provisions, that three days of the good wind were
 lost, before all were supplied anew.

At last, on the nineteenth of October, the prince
 went aboard, and the whole fleet sailed out that
 night. But the next day the wind turned into
 the north, and settled in the north-west. At night

We sailed
 out of the
 Maes.

^k Then he was perjured; “ had protested to them, that
 for he designed to get the “ he had not the least inten-
 crown, which he denied in the “ tion to invade or subdue
 declaration. S. (Quite the “ England, or remove the king
 contrary is perhaps implied in “ from his throne,” &c. See
 that declaration. See a pre- Ralph’s Hist. p. 1024. In his
 ceding note at p. 29. How- letter also to the emperor, in-
 ever, according to the instruc- serted by Dalrymple in his
 tions sent by the States of the Appendix, II. p. 254, the prince
 United Provinces to their min- disavows any design on the
 isters at the several courts of crown of England.)
 Europe, “the prince of Orange

1688. a great storm rose. We wrought against it all that night, and the next day. But it was in vain to struggle any longer. And so vast a fleet run no small hazard, being obliged to keep together, and yet not to come too near one another. On the twenty-first in the afternoon the signal was given to go in again: and on the twenty-second the far greater part got safe into port. Many

783 ships were at first wanting, and were believed to be lost. But after a few days all came in. There was not one ship lost; nor so much as any one man, except one that was blown from the shrouds into the sea. Some ships were so shattered, that as soon as they came in, and all was taken out of them, they immediately sunk down. Only five hundred horses died for want of air. Men are upon such occasions apt to flatter themselves upon the points of Providence. In France and England, as it was believed that our loss was much greater than it proved to be, so they triumphed not a little, as if God had fought against us, and defeated the whole design. We on our part, who found our selves delivered out of so great a storm and so vast a danger, looked on it as a mark of God's great care of us, who, though he had not changed the course of the winds and seas in our favour, yet had preserved us while we were in such apparent danger, beyond what could have been imagined¹. The States were not at all discouraged with this hard beginning, but gave the necessary orders for supplying us with every thing that we needed. The princess behaved herself at

But were
forced back.

¹ Then still it must be a miracle. S.

the Hague suitably to what was expected from her. She ordered prayers four times a day, and assisted at them with great devotion. She spoke to nobody of affairs, but was calm and silent. The States ordered some of their body to give her an account of all their proceedings. She indeed answered little: but in that little she gave them cause often to admire her judgment. 1688.

In England the court saw now, that it was in vain to dissemble or disguise their fears any more. Great consultations were held there. The earl of Melfort, and all the papists, proposed the seizing on all suspected persons, and the sending them to Portsmouth. The earl of Sunderland opposed this vehemently. He said, it would not be possible to seize on many at the same time: and the seizing on a few would alarm all the rest: it would drive them in to the prince, and furnish them with a pretence for it: he proposed rather, that the king would do such popular things, as might give some content, and lay that fermentation with which the nation was then, as it were, distracted. This was at that time complied with: but all the popish party continued upon this to charge lord Sunderland, as one that was in the king's counsels only to betray them; that had before diverted the offer of assistance from France, and now the securing those who were the most likely to join and assist the prince^m. By their

^m The duke of Shandos told me, as a thing he knew to be true, that the king of France wrote to king James, to let him know that he had certain intelligence that the design was upon England, and that he would immediately besiege

1688. importunities the king was at last so prevailed on, that he turned him out of all his places : and lord Preston was made secretary of state. The fleet was now put out, and was so strong, that, if they had met the Dutch fleet, probably they would
 784 have been too hard for them, especially considering the great transport fleet that they were to cover. All the forces that were in Scotland were ordered into England : and that kingdom was left in the hands of their militia. Several regiments came likewise from Ireland. So that the king's army was then about thirty thousand strong. But, in order to lay the heat that was raised in the nation, the king sent for the bishops ; and set out the injustice of this unnatural invasion that the prince was designing : he assured them of his affections to the church of England ; and protested, he had never intended to carry things further than to an equal liberty of conscience : he desired they would declare their abhorrence of this invasion, and that they would offer him their advice, what was fit for him to do. They declined the point of abhor-

Maestricht, which would hinder the States from parting with any of their force for such an expedition ; but the secret must be kept inviolably from any of his ministers. Soon after, the States ordered six thousand men to be sent to Maestricht ; upon which the king of France desired to know if king James had revealed it to any body, for he himself had to none but Louvoy, and if he had betrayed him, should treat him accord-

ingly. King James's answer was, that he never told it to any body but lord Sunderland, who, he was very sure, was too much in his interest to have discovered it : upon which the king of France said, he saw plainly, that king James was a man cut out for destruction, and there was no possibility of helping him. D. (This note has been already printed in sir John Dalrymple's *Memoirs*, vol. II. p. 297.)

renceⁿ, and advised the present summoning a parliament; and that in the mean while the ecclesiastical commission might be broken, the proceedings against the bishop of London^o and Magdalen college might be reversed, and that the law might be again put in its channel. This they delivered with great gravity, and with a courage that recommended them to the whole nation. There was an order sent them from the king afterwards, requiring them to compose an office for the present occasion. The prayers were so well drawn, that even those who wished for the prince might have joined in them. The church

1688.

ⁿ (In an apology for archbishop Sancroft and his deprived brethren, drawn up with their approbation, it is stated, that on the 6th of October in this year, when the archbishop waited on his majesty in company with the bishops of London, Rochester, and Peterborough; he desired the king, if he thought fit for his interest, to mention their denial, that they had any share in the invitation to the prince of Orange, whenever he should publish his intended declaration. In this advice he was joined by the bishop of Peterborough; the two other bishops expressing no dissent from it at the time. See Extracts from this Apology in a *Vindication of Archbishop Sancroft, and the Deprived Bishops*, p. 17. printed in 1717. Compare Appendix to Lord Clarendon's Diary, p. 321. After-

wards several of the suffragan bishops declined giving their denial in writing, when the Dutch fleet had arrived in the channel, at which the king was highly incensed. But the archbishop sent an answer under his own hand "that he had never invited the prince by word, writing, or otherwise, nor did he know, nor could he believe, that any of the other bishops had done so." See Lingard's *Hist. of England*, X. 4. p. 242.)

^o (The king had assured the bishops, at his first interview with them, of his intention to take off the bishop of London's suspension, which was before they offered their ten articles of advice, in none of which his case is mentioned. In this particular the author confounds the two interviews. Consult the earl of Clarendon's Diary.)

1688. party did not shew their approbation of the prince's expedition in such terms, that many were surprised at it, both then and since that time. They spoke openly in favour of it. They expressed their grief to see the wind so cross. They wished for an east wind, which on that occasion was called the protestant wind. They spoke with great scorn of all that the court was then doing to regain the hearts of the nation. And indeed the proceedings of the court that way were so cold and so forced, that few were like to be deceived by them, but those who had a mind to be deceived. The writs for a parliament were often ordered to be made ready for the seal, and were as often stopped. Some were sealed, and given out: but they were quickly called in again. The old charters were ordered to be restored again. Jefferies himself carried back the charter of the city of London, and put on the appearances of joy and heartiness when he gave it to them. All men saw through that affectation: for he had raised himself chiefly upon the advising or promoting that matter of the surrender, and the forfeiture of the charters. An order was also sent to the bishop of Winchester, to put the president of Magdalen college again in possession^p. Yet, that

^p (The king's friends, before the arrival of the prince in England, affirmed, that it was well known to some persons of honour and credit, that the king had resolved to have granted some of these things before the calling of the future parliament, when

he had not the least intelligence of the present Dutch preparations, as testimonies that he designed the protection of the church of England. See a scarce tract published before the revolution, entitled *The Dutch Design Anatomized*, p. 27.)

order not being executed when the news was brought that the prince and his fleet were blown back, it was countermanded; which plainly shewed what it was that drove the court into so much compliance, and how long it was like to last^q. 1688. 785

The matter of the greatest concern, and that Proofs brought for

^q The bishop of Winchester assured me otherwise. S. (Even Hume, in his History, in the reign of James II. p. 425, speaks of the common belief, that, "as intelligence arrived " of a great disaster having " befallen the Dutch fleet, " the king recalled for some " time the concessions which " he had ordered to be made " to Magdalen college." See also Hargrave's *State Trials*, vol. IV. p. 282. But the extracts from the papers of Dr. Thomas Smith, which have been published in the *Biographia Britannica*, vol. VI. p. 3731, and a letter written by Dr. Finch, warden of All Souls college, attested by Carte, in Macpherson's *Original Papers*, vol. I. p. 273, and now preserved in Worcester college library, proves that the bishop of Winchester, who had arrived in Oxford for the purpose of restoring the college, was recalled on the 20th of October, by an order from lord Sunderland to attend the privy council on the 22d, when the depositions concerning the birth of the prince of Wales were taken, and ordered to be enrolled. But the prince of Orange's fleet was driven back by a storm on the 21st, which

commenced the night of the 20th, as appears from bishop Burnet's account of it and from various other documents. The king is said to have been before this time much displeased at finding that his directions to reinstate the society had not been executed, and to have sent the bishop, who appears to have been previously very slow in his motions, to Oxford for the purpose. The college was restored by him on the 25th, exactly a year after the president had been ejected. See a preceding note at page 176. Consult Macpherson's *Hist. of Great Britain*, vol. I. p. 518. Ralph indeed, at p. 1023 of his *History*, assigns as the reason of the delay in restoring the college, the news, which arrived not of these, but of the former contrary winds and tempestuous weather mentioned by the bishop at p. 779. Now it appears that the news of this bad weather happening to admiral Herbert's fleet, together with the order made on the 12th for resettling the college, are inserted in the same *Gazette*, October 15, and the bishop of Winchester went to Oxford for the purpose of executing it.

1688. could not be dropped, but was to be supported, the birth of the prince of Wales. was the birth of the prince of Wales. And therefore the court thought it necessary, now in an after game, to offer some satisfaction in that point^r. So a great meeting was called, not only of all the privy counsellors and judges, but of all the nobility then in town. To these the king complained of the great injury that was done both him and the queen by the prince of Orange, who accused them of so black an imposture: he said, he believed there were few princes then alive, who had been born in the presence of more witnesses than were at his son's birth: he had therefore called them together, that they might hear the proof of that matter. It was first proved, that the queen was delivered abed, while many were in the room; and that they saw the child soon after he was taken from the queen by the midwife. But in this the midwife was the single witness^s; for none of the ladies had felt the child in the queen's belly. The countess of Sunderland did indeed depose, that the queen called to her to give her her hand, that she might feel how the child lay, to which she added, *which I did*; but did not say whether she felt the child or not: and she told the duchess of Hamilton, from whom I had it, that when she put her hand into the bed, the queen held it, and let it go no lower than her breasts. So that really

^r And this was the proper time. S.

^s (It has been also objected, that this was not the midwife who had attended the queen at all her former deliveries.

See note on *Bishop Burnet and Bishop Lloyd's Account of the Birth of the Pretender*, 8vo. 1745, and Oldmixon's *Hist. of the Stuarts*, p. 736.)

she felt nothing. And this deposition, brought to 1688.
make a shew, was an evidence against the matter
rather than for it; and was a violent presumption
of an imposture, and of an artifice to cover it^t.
Many ladies deposed, that they had often seen
the marks of milk on the queen's linen, near her
breasts. Two or three deposed, that they saw it
running out at the nipple. All these deposed,

^t Compare the following deposition of the countess of Sunderland with the bishop's account of it. "The countess
"of Sunderland deposeth,
"that on the tenth of June,
"as soon as she came to her
"majesty, the queen told her
"she believed it would not be
"her labour. The bed was
"warmed, the queen went
"into it, and after some lingering
"pains, she feared she
"should not be brought to
"bed a good while; the mid-
"wife assured her majesty,
"that she would only have
"one thorow pain to bring
"the child into the world.
"The queen said it was impossible,
"the child lies too
"high, and commanded me to
"lay my hand on her belly,
"which I did. And after the
"great pain came, the queen
"was delivered of a son, and
"I made a sign to the king
"that it was a son." Deposition V. Lockhart, of Carnwarth, in his Letter on the
bishop of Salisbury's History, which is inserted amongst the
Lockhart Papers, lately published by Mr. Aufrere, asks

what credit the bishop imagined could be given to the second part of the countess's story, which clashed so diametrically with her oath. In the next place, according to Lockhart, "the duchess of Hamilton, although a staunch
"presbyterian, and hearty revolutioner, at all times contradicted the story of the
"queen's false big belly, because, as she said, the lady
"Sunderland, whom she reckoned as good a woman as
"was in England, had often told her, that she found the
"child in the queen's belly, and was as sure she was
"with child as ever she herself was; and that her
"daughter-in-law, the late countess of Arran, (lady
"Sunderland's daughter,) had often confirmed the same to
"her. Now that the duchess hath often and often, and
"always when the conversation was on this subject,
"expressed herself after this manner, can be attested by
"many persons of undoubted honour and veracity; and it
"cannot enter into the ima-

1688. that they saw milk before the pretended delivery.

But none of them deposed concerning milk after the delivery, though nature sends it then in greater abundance: and the queen had it always in such plenty, that some weeks passed after her delivery, before she was quite freed from it^u. The ladies did not name the time in which they saw the milk, except one, who named the month of May. But, if the particulars mentioned before, that happened on Easter Monday, are reflected on, and if it appears probable by these that the queen miscarried at that time; then all that the ladies mentioned of milk in her breasts, particularly she that fixed it to the month of May, might have followed upon that miscarriage, and be no proof concerning the late birth. Mrs. Pierce, the laundress, deposed that she took linen from the queen's
786 body once, which carried the marks of a delivery.

But she spoke only to one time. That was a main circumstance. And if it had been true, it must have been often done, and was capable of a more copious proof, since there is occasion for such things to be often looked on, and well considered. The lady Wentworth was the single witness that deposed, that she had felt the child move in the queen's belly. She was a bedchamber

"gination of any, that she
"would affirm the direct con-
"trary to the bishop." Vol.I.
p. 602.)

"The queen's apothecary,
"who is still alive (in 1713),
"and of as great integrity as
"any man of his profession,

"can attest that the queen
"had milk after her delivery,
"and that he made ointments
"and plasters, as usual, to re-
"pel it and dry it away."

Answer to the younger Bur-
net's Pamphlet, p. 36, cited
above.

woman, as well as a single witness: and she fixed it on no time. If it was very early, she might have been mistaken: or if it was before Easter Monday, it might be true, and yet have no relation to this birth^x. This was the substance of

1688.

^x (See before, p. 750 of the folio edit. The lady Wentworth told dean Hickes, it was about a month before her majesty was delivered. And Mrs. Dawson, of the bed-chamber, a protestant as well as lady Wentworth, who heard all her ladyship said, affirmed it was *within the month*. Her ladyship further said, that, when, by the queen's permission, she felt her, she felt the child stir very strongly, "as strongly," said she, "as ever I felt any of my own." She mentioned also a time after this, when she remarked the motion of the child. Lady Wentworth's Testimony; of which document a particular account is given below at p. 817. The prince was born on Trinity Sunday, the 10th of June, consequently the circumstance mentioned by lady Wentworth took place long after Easter. Every suspicion, therefore, of an actual miscarriage on Easter Monday must vanish, if this testimony is true. Rapin, in his History of England, book XXIV. vol. II. p. 774, writes thus: "Let us take the two depositions, which, next to that of the midwife, appear most convincing, namely, that of the lady, who had seen milk run

"from the queen's breasts;
 "and that of the lady Isabella
 "Wentworth, who had felt
 "the child in the womb.
 "These two testimonies are
 "sufficient against those who
 "maintain, that the queen
 "was not with child from
 "January, the time of her
 "declared pregnancy, to the
 "tenth of June, the time of
 "her delivery. But they are
 "insufficient against those
 "who pretend, that she was
 "really with child from the
 "sixth of October to the ninth
 "of April," (Easter Monday,
 the time Burnet mentions, fell on the sixteenth of April in that year,) "when she had a miscarriage." Rapin goes on to observe, that the two ladies who deposed concerning the milk and the motion of the child, should have fixed the time to the interval between the supposed miscarriage and the delivery, otherwise that their testimony proves nothing against those who maintain that the queen was really with child till Easter-week, and had then a miscarriage. The satisfaction Rapin requires, is here afforded by the lady Wentworth's full and clear testimony concerning the time she felt the child.)

1688. this evidence, which was ordered to be enrolled and printed. But, when it was published, it had a quite contrary effect to what the court expected from it. The presumption of law before this was all in favour of the birth, since the parents owned the child: so that the proof lay on the other side, and ought to be offered by those who called it in question. But, now that this proof was brought, which was so apparently defective, it did not lessen but increase the jealousy with which the nation was possessed; for all people concluded, that, if the thing had been true, it must have been easy to have brought a much more copious proof than was now published to the world^y. It

^y (It appears, from the Depositions, that twelve ladies of high rank, six of whom were protestants, besides a great many protestant noblemen, physicians, and female attendants, attested in a very full and most satisfactory manner the delivery of the queen: some of them swore, that they saw the navel string of the infant cut just after its separation from the mother. To this authentic record lies an appeal from the false representations here given. It was prefaced with this declaration on the part of the king. "—— The malicious endeavours of my enemies have so poisoned the minds of some of my subjects, that by the reports I have from all hands, I have reason to believe, that many do think this son, which God has

been pleased to bless me with, to be none of mine, but a supposed child. But I may say, that by a particular providence, scarce any prince was ever born, where there were so many persons present." Further, in his majesty's reasons for withdrawing himself, he uses this affecting language: "I appeal to all that know me, nay even to the prince of Orange himself," (of whom the king complains as having falsely aspersed him in that clause of his Declaration which concerns his son,) "that in their conscience neither he nor they can believe I am in the least capable of so unnatural a villainy, nor of so little common sense, as to be imposed on in a thing of such a nature." It appears, that at the subsequent council

1688.

was much observed, that princess Anne was not present. She indeed excused herself. She thought she was breeding: and all motion was forbidden her. None believed that to be the true reason; for it was thought, that the going from one apartment of the court to another could not hurt her. So it was looked on as a colour that shewed she did not believe the thing, and that therefore she would not by her being present seem to give any credit to it^z.

held in October 1688, to which were summoned the lords, spiritual and temporal, judges, citizens, and others, after producing the attested proofs of the birth, the king declared on his honour, that he had often felt the child stir in the queen. See *the Ellis Correspondence*, vol. II. p. 227. It is proper to produce in this place what dean Hickeys has added in the document before cited to the testimony of lady Isabella Wentworth. "We then happened to mention her printed Deposition, which gave me occasion to say, that though it was satisfactory, yet for the sake of the prejudiced I wish it had contained more particulars. Upon which she said, that when she was sent to, to appear before the council, she knew not why she was summoned to appear there, almost till the moment she was ready to go; nor had she known it till she had come thither, but that notice was sent her when

"she was ready to go, that
 "she must come in a gown:
 "which made her stay to
 "change her clothes. While
 "she was doing that, her son,
 "then page to the queen,
 "came and told her why she
 "was called to appear before
 "the council. This her lady-
 "ship told me, to let me know
 "how little time she had to
 "recollect and prepare herself;
 "also agreeing to what
 "Mrs. Bridget H—— then
 "said, that the deponents had
 "such short and imperfect notice
 "of what they were to do,
 "that they might advise with
 "nobody, for fear it should
 "be said they were tampered
 "with, before they came to
 "be examined about the
 "prince's birth.")

^z I have reason to believe this to be true of the princess Anne. S. (See an account of the conduct of the princess in this affair, in Henry earl of Clarendon's *Diary*, pp. 77, 79, 81, 103. She was acting an interested part, under the influence of a violent bad wo-

1688. This was the state of affairs in England, while we lay at Helvoet-Sluis, where we continued till the first of November. Here Wildman created a new disturbance. He plainly had a shew of courage, but was, at least then, a coward. He possessed some of the English with an opinion, that the design was now irrecoverably lost. This was entertained by many, who were willing to hearken to any proposition that set danger at a distance from themselves. They were still magnifying the English fleet, and undervaluing the Dutch. They went so far in this, that they proposed to the prince, that Herbert should be ordered to go over to the coast of England, and either fight the English fleet, or force them in: and in that case the transport fleet might venture over; which otherwise they thought could not be safely done. This some urged with such earnestness, that nothing but the prince's authority, and Schomberg's
785 credit, could have withstood it. The prince told them, the season was now so far spent, that the losing of more time was the losing the whole design: fleets might lie long in view of one another, before it could be possible for them to come to an

man, the wife of lord Churchill. "I told lady Wentworth," (says Dr. Hickes, in his account of this lady's testimony, given in the year 1703, and mentioned thrice before,) "how the bishop of Worcester (Lloyd) gave out, that he had heard the queen that now is, I mean queen Anne, express her dissatisfaction of the truth of the prince of

"Wales's birth, and give such reasons for it, as would convince any one he was an impostor, except such as were obstinate. 'I am confident,' replied my lady, 'the bishop wrongs her majesty, who I am persuaded cannot disbelieve the prince's birth.'" See notes above at pp. 280—295.

engagement, though both sides equally desired it; 1688.
but much longer, if any one of them avoided it: it was not possible to keep the army, especially the horse, long at sea: and it was no easy matter to take them all out, and to ship them again: after the wind had stood so long in the west, there was reason to hope it would turn to the east: and when that should come, no time was to be lost: for it would sometimes blow so fresh in a few days as to freeze up the river; so that it would not be possible to get out all the winter long. With these things he rather silenced than quieted them. All this while the men of war were still riding at sea, it being a continued storm for some weeks. The prince sent out several advice boats with orders to them to come in. But they could not come up to them. On the twenty-seventh of October there was for six hours together a most dreadful storm: so that there were few among us, that did not conclude, that the best part of the fleet, and by consequence that the whole design, was lost. Many, that have passed for heroes, yet shewed then the agonies of fear in their looks and whole deportment. The prince still retained his usual calmness, and the same tranquillity of spirit, that I had observed in him in his happiest days. On the twenty-eighth it calmed a little, and our fleet came all in, to our great joy. The rudder of one third rate was broken: and that was all the hurt that the storm had done. At last the much longed for east wind came. And so hard a thing it was to set so vast a

1688. body in motion, that two days of this wind were lost before all could be quite ready.

We sailed
out more
happily a
second
time.

On the first of November, O. S. we sailed out with the evening tide; but made little way that night, that so our fleet might come out, and move in order. We tried next day till noon, if it was possible to sail northward; but the wind was so strong and full in the east, that we could not move that way. About noon the signal was given to steer westward. This wind not only diverted us from that unhappy course, but it kept the English fleet in the river: so that it was not possible for them to come out, though they were come down as far as to the Gunfleet. By this means we had the sea open to us, with a fair wind and a safe navigation. On the third we passed between Dover and Calais, and before night came in sight of the Isle of Wight. The next day, being the day in which the prince was both born and married, he fancied, if he could land that day, it would look auspicious to the army, and animate

788 the soldiers. But we all, who considered, that the day following, being gunpowder treason day, our landing that day might have a good effect on the minds of the English nation, were better pleased to see that we could land no sooner. Torbay was thought the best place for our great fleet to lie in: and it was resolved to land the army, where it could be best done near it; reckoning, that being at such a distance from London, we could provide ourselves with horses, and put every thing in order before the king could march his

army towards us, and that we should lie some time at Exeter for the refreshing our men. I was in the ship, with the prince's other domestics, that went in the van of the whole fleet. At noon on the fourth Russel came on board us with the best of all the English pilots that they had brought over. He gave him the steering of the ship; and ordered him to be sure to sail so, that next morning we should be short of Dartmouth: for it was intended that some of the ships should land there, and that the rest should sail into Torbay. The pilot thought, he could not be mistaken in measuring our course: and believed that he certainly kept within orders, till the morning shewed us we were past Torbay and Dartmouth. The wind, though it had abated much of its first violence, yet was still full in the east: so now it seemed necessary for us to sail on to Plymouth, which must have engaged us in a long and tedious campaign in winter, through a very ill country. Nor were we sure to be received at Plymouth. The earl of Bath, who was governor, had sent by Russel a promise to the prince to come and join him: yet it was not likely, that he would be so forward as to receive us at our first coming. The delays he made afterwards, pretending that he was managing the garrison, whereas he was indeed staying till he saw how the matter was like to be decided, shewed us how fatal it had proved, if we had been forced to sail on to Plymouth. But while Russel was in no small disorder, after he saw the pilot's error, (upon which he bade me go to my prayers, for all was lost,) and as he was ordering the boat

1688.

1688. to be cleared to go aboard the prince, on a sudden, to all our wonder, it calmed a little. And then the wind turned into the south: and a soft and happy gale of wind carried in the whole fleet in four hours' time into Torbay. Immediately as many landed as conveniently could. As soon as the prince and marshal Schomberg got to shore, they were furnished with such horses as the village of Broxholme could afford; and rode up to view the grounds, which they found as convenient as could be imagined for the foot in that season. It was not a cold night: otherwise the soldiers, who had been kept warm aboard, might have suffered much by it. As soon as I landed, I made what haste I could to the place where the prince was; who took me heartily by the hand, and asked me, if I would not now believe predestination. I told him, I would never forget that providence of God, which had appeared so signally on this occasion^a.

We landed
at Torbay.

789

^a (Light is thrown on this passage by the following curious account given in M'Cormick's *Life of Carstares*: "Mr. Carstares set out along with his highness in quality of his domestic chaplain, and went aboard of his own ship. It is well known, that, upon their first setting out from the coast of Holland, the fleet was in imminent danger by a violent tempest, which obliged them to put back for a few days. Upon that occasion, the vessel which carried the prince and his retinue narrowly escaped shipwreck,

" a circumstance which some who were around his person were disposed to interpret into a bad omen of their success. Among these, Dr. Burnett happening to observe, that it seemed predestined that they should not set foot on English ground, the prince said nothing; but, upon stepping a-shore at Torbay, in the hearing of Mr. Carstares, he turned about to Dr. Burnett, and asked him what he thought of the doctrine of predestination now?" Carstares's *State Papers and Letters*, p. 34. Cunningham, ac-

He was cheerfuller than ordinary. Yet he returned soon to his usual gravity. The prince sent for all the fishermen of the place; and asked them, which was the properest place for landing his horse, which all apprehended would be a tedious business, and might hold some days. But next morning he was shewed a place, a quarter of a mile below the village, where the ships could be brought very near the land, against a good shore, and the horses would not be put to swim above twenty yards. This proved to be so happy for our landing, though we came to it by mere accident, that, if we had ordered the whole island round to be sounded, we could not have found a properer place for it. There was a dead calm all that morning: and in three hours' time all our horse were landed, with as much baggage as was necessary till we got to Exeter. The artillery and heavy baggage were left aboard, and ordered to Topsham, the seaport to Exeter. All that belonged to us was so soon and so happily landed, that by the next day at noon we were in full march, and marched four miles that night. We had from thence twenty miles to Exeter: and we

cording to the translation of the Latin MS. of his History of England, says, that "Dr. Burnet, who understood but little of military affairs, asked the prince of Orange, which way he intended to march, and when? and desired to be employed by him in whatever service he should think fit. The prince only asked,

"what he now thought of predestination? and advised, if he had a mind to be busy, to consult the canons." Vol. I. p. 88. The bishop omits mentioning the proximate cause of the prince's question; and says nothing about his declining the offer of his services, which indeed it is not likely that he did, at least so uncivilly.)

1688. resolved to make haste thither. But, as we were now happily landed, and marching, we saw new and unthought of characters of a favourable providence of God watching over us. We had no sooner got thus disengaged from our fleet, than a new and great storm blew from the west; from which our fleet, being covered by the land, could receive no prejudice: but the king's fleet had got out as the wind calmed, and in pursuit of us was come as far as the Isle of Wight, when this contrary wind turned upon them. They tried what they could to pursue us: but they were so shattered by some days of this storm, that they were forced to go into Portsmouth, and were no more fit for service that year. This was a greater happiness than we were then aware of: for the lord Dartmouth assured me some time after, that, whatever stories we had heard and believed, either of officers or seamen, he was confident they would all have fought very heartily. But now, by the immediate hand of Heaven, we were masters of the sea without a blow. I never found a disposition to superstition in my temper: I was rather inclined to be philosophical upon all occasions. Yet I must confess, that this strange ordering of the winds and seasons, just to change as our affairs required it, could not but make deep impressions on me, as well as on all that observed

790 it. Those famous verses of Claudian seemed to be more applicable to the prince, than to him they were made on:

*O nimium dilecte Deo, cui militat æther,
Et conjurati veniunt ad classica venti!*

Heaven's favourite, for whom the skies do fight,
And all the winds conspire to guide thee right !

The prince made haste to Exeter, where he stayed ten days, both for refreshing his troops, and for giving the country time to shew their affections. Both the clergy and magistrates of Exeter were very fearful, and very backward. The bishop and the dean ran away^b. And the clergy stood off, though they were sent for, and very gently spoke to by the prince. The truth was, the doctrines of passive obedience and non-resistance had been carried so far, and preached so much, that clergymen either could not all on the sudden get out of that entanglement into which they had by long thinking and speaking all one way involved themselves, or they were ashamed to make so quick a turn. Yet care was taken to protect them and their houses every where: so that no sort of violence or rudeness was offered to any of them. The prince gave me full authority to do this: and I took so particular a care of it,

^b For which Lamplew (Lamplugh) the bishop, was made archbishop of York by king James, and afterwards crowned king William, upon Sancroft's refusal; that is to say, assisted at the coronation, the bishop of London performing the ceremonies, as suffragan of Canterbury. D. Richard Annesley dean of Exeter. *Cole*. (The bishop after he was archbishop told the learned Dr. Smith of Magdalen College, Oxford, that "upon the morning of the king's first de-

"parture from England the
"king was pleased to tell him,
"that he was chased away
"from his own house by the
"prince of Orange, and de-
"sired him to pray for him.
"The archbishop prayed God
"to bless his majesty, saying
"that he was an old man,
"and that if he saw his ma-
"jesty's face no more, he
"hoped that they should meet
"together in heaven." Smith's
Narrative, frequently before
cited; Howell's *State Trials*,
vol. XII. p. 86.)

1688. that we heard of no complaints. The army was kept under such an exact discipline, that every thing was paid for where it was demanded; though the soldiers were contented with such moderate entertainment, that the people generally asked but little for what they did eat. We stayed a week at Exeter, before any of the gentlemen of the country about came in to the prince^c. Every day some persons of condition came from other parts. The first were the lord Colchester, Mr. Wharton, the eldest sons of the earl of Rivers, and the lord Wharton^d, Mr. Russel, the lord Russel's brother, and the earl of Abingdon.

The king's
army began
to come
over to the
prince.

The king came down to Salisbury, and sent his troops twenty miles further. Of these, three regiments of horse and dragoons were drawn on by their officers, the lord Cornbury^e and colonel

^c The duke of Shrewsbury told me the prince was much surprised at this backwardness in joining with him, and began to suspect he was betrayed, and had some thoughts of returning; in which case he resolved to publish the names of all those that had invited him over: which, he said, would be but a just return for their treachery, folly, and cowardice. Lord Shrewsbury told him he believed the great difficulty amongst them was who should run the hazard of being the first; but if the ice were once broken, they would be as much afraid of being the last: which proved very true. D. (This note has been previously pub-

lished by Dalrymple in his *Memoirs*, vol. II. p. 342.)

^d The first edition of Burnet has 'the lord Colchester, the eldest son of the earl of Rivers, and the lord Wharton,' Famous for his cowardice in the rebellion of 1640. S. (And for his unblushing mendacity, may be added; witness his speech at Guildhall, printed at London, in the same year 1642.)

^e (On the defection of his son lord Cornbury, (who, as D'Orleans reports, in his *Revolutions of England*, p. 302, had been bred at Geneva, but was, according to the *Memoirs of the Affairs of Europe*, published in 1724, a person of the

Langston, on design to come over to the prince. 1688.
 Advice was sent to the prince of this. But because these officers were not sure of their subalterns, the prince ordered a body of his men to advance, and assist them in case any resistance was made. They were within twenty miles of Exeter, and within two miles of the body that the prince had sent to join them, when a whisper ran about among them that they were betrayed. Lord Cornbury had not the presence of mind that so critical a thing required. So they fell in confusion, and many rode back. Yet one regiment 791

meanest capacity,) the earl of Clarendon in his *Diary*, p. 89, thus exclaims: "O God, that my son should be a rebel! the Lord in his mercy look upon me, and enable me to support my self under this most grievous calamity. I made haste home, and as soon as I could recollect myself a little, I wrote to my lord Middleton to obtain leave for me to throw myself at the king's feet. My lord quickly sent me a most obliging answer, that I might wait on the king when I would, Nov. 16. Friday. In the afternoon I waited on the king at W. Chiffinch's: I said what I was able upon so melancholy a subject, and my son's desertion. God knows I was in confusion enough. The king was very gracious to me, and said, he pitied me with all his heart, and that he would still be kind to my

"family." One cannot but feel for fallen greatness; at the same time we should reflect with what ingratitude, harshness, and injustice, the king would have continued to treat the conscientious opposers of his measures, if the prince's expedition had not been undertaken, or had been unsuccessful. As to lord Clarendon, since according to Mr. Macaulay in his *History of England*, vol. II. ch. 9. p. 507. lord Cornbury was attached to the household of the princess Anne, it seems certain that the Churchills knew every thing, and probably the father nothing, of his son's intended desertion. Compare also lord Clarendon's *Diary*, after this, where he says, that in a conference with the princess a little before king William's coronation, he called what his son had done a very abominable action.)

1688. came over in a body, and with them about a hundred of the other two. This gave us great courage; and shewed us, that we had not been deceived in what was told us of the inclinations of the king's army. Yet, on the other hand, those who studied to support the king's spirit by flatteries, told him, that in this he saw that he might trust his army, since these who intended to carry over those regiments, were forced to manage it with so much artifice, and durst not discover their design either to officers or soldiers; and that, as soon as they perceived it, the greater part of them had turned back. The king wanted support: for his spirits sunk extremely^f. His blood was in such fermentation, that he was bleeding much at the nose, which returned oft upon him every day. He sent many spies over to us. They all took his money, and came and joined themselves to the prince, none of them returning to him. So that he had no intelligence brought him of what the prince was doing, but what common reports brought him, which magnified our numbers, and made him think we were coming near him, while we were still at Exeter. He heard that the city of London was very unquiet. News were brought him, that the earls of Devonshire and Danby, and the lord Lumley, were drawing great bodies together, and that both York and Newcastle had declared for the

^f That ruined him, for I have been well assured, that had he shewn any courage and spirit upon the occasion, his army

would have fought the prince of Orange. O. See note below at page (793).

prince. The lord Delamere had raised a regiment in Cheshire. And the body of the nation did every where discover their inclinations for the prince so evidently, that the king saw he had nothing to trust to but his army. And the ill disposition among them was so apparent, that he reckoned he could not depend on them. So that he lost both heart and head at once. But that which gave him the last and most confounding stroke was, that the lord Churchill and the duke of Grafton left him, and came and joined the prince at Axminster, twenty miles on that side of Exeter. After this he could not know on whom he could depend. The duke of Grafton was one of king Charles's sons by the duchess of Cleveland. He had been some time at sea, and was a gallant but rough man. He had more spirit than any one of that spurious race. He made an an-

1688.

g ("The king summoned
"all the general officers and
"colonels that remained in
"town, and addressed to them
"a remarkable speech, of
"which the substance is re-
"corded by himself. He told
"them, he would call a par-
"liament as soon as peace was
"restored; that he would
"secure their liberties, privi-
"leges, and religion, and grant
"any thing more they re-
"quired of him. That, if any
"amongst them were not free
"and willing to serve him,
"he gave them leave to sur-
"render their commissions,
"and go where they pleased;
"that he believed them men
"of too much honour to imi-

"tate lord Cornbury, but was
"willing to spare them, if they
"desired it, the discredit of
"so base a desertion. 'They
"all,' continues the king,
"seemed to be moved at the
"discourse, and vowed they
"would serve him to the last
"drop of their blood. The
"duke of Grafton and my lord
"Churchill were the first that
"made their attestation;' and
"the first,' adds the compiler,
"who, to their eternal in-
"famy, broke it afterwards,
"as well as Kirke and Tre-
"lawney, who were no less
"lavish of their promises.'"
Continuation of Mackintosh's
Hist. of the Revolution, ch. xv.
p. 489.

1688. swer to the king about this time, that was much talked of. The king took notice of somewhat in his behaviour that looked factious: and he said, he was sure he could not pretend to act upon principles of conscience; for he had been so ill bred, that, as he knew little of religion, so he regarded it less. But he answered the king, that, though he had little conscience, yet he was of a party that had conscience^h. Soon after that, prince George, the duke of Ormondⁱ, and the lord Drumlanerick, the duke of Queensbury's eldest son^k,
792 left him, and came over to the prince, and joined him, when he was come as far as the earl of

^h (This young nobleman, who had not at that time been refused the command of the fleet, consented to present the papal nuncio at court, when the duke of Somerset had declined doing it, as against law. See above p. 204, and a note in which lord Lonsdale's Memoir of this Reign, p. 24, is quoted. Compare the Life of King James II. vol. ii. p. 208.)

ⁱ Yet how has he been since used? S.

^k (The previous engagement of these three persons of high quality to join the prince of Orange on his arrival in England, is mentioned by the earl of Balcarras, in his Account of the affairs of Scotland, p. 27. See note above at p. 330. Speke, a man of a good family, and originally in violent opposition to the king, was employed by him to go over to the prince on his

landing in England in order to procure information of the strength of his forces, and of his future designs; but Speke, on the contrary, did all in his power to serve the prince of Orange. This person relates in his tract, entitled the *History of the Happy Revolution*, p. 32, that he "foretold the "king of the desertion of his "friends in order to create a "mistrust and jealousy in his "mind, even of those who "were heartily and sincerely "in his interest." See more of Speke's intrigues in a note below at p. 794. folio edit. King William completely turned the tables on James for his unwarrantable employment of this man; as Speke, according to his own account, kept a constant correspondence with the exiled monarch by king William's direction, from the time of the revolution till the peace of Ryswick; "and for

Bristol's house at Sherburn¹. When the news 1688.
 came to London, the princess was so struck with
 the apprehensions of the king's displeasure, and of
 the ill effects that it might have, that she said to
 the lady Churchill, that she could not bear the
 thoughts of it, and would leap out at window
 rather than venture on it. The bishop of London
 was then lodged very secretly in Suffolk street.
 So the lady Churchill, who knew where he was,
 went to him, and concerted with him the method
 of the princess's withdrawing from the court. The
 princess went sooner to bed than ordinary. And
 about midnight she went down a back stairs from
 her closet, attended only by the lady Churchill^m,

" the defraying the charge of
 " his correspondence, and for
 " other secret services, re-
 " ceived several sums of money
 " from king William," p. 65
 of the above-named pam-
 phlet.)

¹ The Continuator of Mack-
 intosh's *History of the Revolution*,
 ch. xv. p. 502, citing
 D'Albeville's Letter to lord
 Preston, 16th Dec. 1689,
 amongst the Preston Papers,
 states, that Fagel the Dutch
 pensionary " who died during
 " the crisis of the revolution,
 " declared on his death-bed
 " that the prince of Orange
 " had obtained the sanction of
 " the prince and princess of
 " Denmark before he resolved
 " on the enterprise." The same
 writer proceeds to remark that
 the young duke of Ormond
 was one of the noblemen who
 figured in the Gazette, as vo-

lunteering their services, and
 accepting commissions to raise
 troops against the invader,
 and that he was at the same
 time deep in the intrigues of
 the prince of Orange for cor-
 rupting the faith, not only of
 the army, but of the fleet.
 Byng's Memoirs in Dalrym-
 ple's Appendix are cited as
 authority for this circum-
 stance. Bishop Burnet has
 already stated at page 323,
 that lord Churchill undertook
 before the prince's coming
 here, that prince George
 and the princess Anne would
 leave the court and go to
 the prince as soon as was pos-
 sible.)

^m And Mrs. Berkeley, after-
 wards lady Fitzharding. The
 back stairs were made a little
 before for that purpose. The
 princess pretended she was out
 of order, upon some expostu-

1688. in such haste that they carried nothing with them. They were waited for by the bishop of London, who carried them to the earl of Dorset's, whose lady furnished them with every thing. And so they went northward, as far as Northampton; where that earl attended on them with all respect, and quickly brought a body of horse to serve for a guard to the princess. And in a little while a small army was formed about her, who chose to be commanded by the bishop of London; of which he too easily acceptedⁿ, and was by that exposed to much censure.

These things put the king in an unexpressible confusion. He saw himself now forsaken, not only by those whom he had trusted and favoured most, but even by his own children. And the army

lations that had passed between her and the queen, in a visit she received from her that night: therefore said she would not be disturbed till she rang her bell. Next morning, when her servants had waited two hours longer than her usual time of rising, they were afraid something was the matter with her; and finding the bed open, and her highness gone, they ran screaming to my father's lodgings, which were the next to hers, and told my mother the princess was murdered by the priests; from thence they went to the queen, and old mistress Buss asked her in a very rude manner, what she had done with their mistress. The queen answered her very

gravely, she supposed their mistress was where she liked to be, but did assure them she knew nothing of her, but did not doubt they would hear of her again very soon. Which gave them little satisfaction, upon which there was a rumour all over Whitehall, that the queen had made away with the princess. D. (See before, note at p. 319.)

ⁿ And why should he not? S. (He was son of the earl of Northampton, who lost his life in the king's father's service; and there is a tradition in that noble family, that the bishop, when he was prevented by his friends, on account of his youth, from going to the field of battle, shed tears.)

was in such distraction, that there was not any one body that seemed entirely united and firm to him. A foolish ballad was made at that time, treating the papists, and chiefly the Irish, in a very ridiculous manner, which had a burden, said to be Irish words, *lero lero lilibulero*^o, that made an impression on the army, that cannot be well imagined by those who saw it not. The whole army, and at last all people both in city and country, were singing it perpetually. And perhaps never had so slight a thing so great an effect.

While the prince stayed at Exeter, the rabble of the people came in to him in great numbers. So that he could have raised many regiments of foot, if there had been any occasion for them. But what he understood of the temper the king's army was in, made him judge it was not necessary to arm greater numbers. After he had stayed eight days at Exeter, Seimour came in with several other gentlemen of quality and estate. As soon as he had been with the prince, he sent to seek for me. When I came to him, he asked me, why we had not an association signed by all that came to us, since, till we had that done, we were as a rope of sand: men might leave us when they pleased, and we had them under no tie: whereas, if they signed an association, they would reckon

An association among those who came to the prince.

793

^o They are not Irish words, but better than Scotch. S. There was a particular expression in it which the king remembered he had made use of

to the earl of Dorset, from whence it was concluded that he was the author. D. (It has been said, that it was written by the marquis Wharton.)

1688. themselves bound to stick to us ^P. I answered, it

793 was because we had not a man of his authority and credit to offer and support such an advice. I went from him to the prince, who approved of the motion: as did also the earl of Shrewsbury, and all that were with us. So I was ordered to draw it. It was, in few words, an engagement to stick together in pursuing the ends of the prince's declaration; and that, if any attempt should be made on his person, it should be revenged on all by whom or from whom any such attempt should be made. This was agreed to by all about the prince. So it was engrossed in parchment, and signed by all those that came in to him. The prince put Devonshire and Exeter under Seimour's government, who was recorder of Exeter. And he advanced with his army, leaving a small garrison there with his heavy artillery under colonel Gibson whom he made deputy governor as to the military part.

The heads
in Oxford
sent to him.

At Crookhorn, Dr. Finch, son to the earl of Winchelsea, then made warden of All Souls college in Oxford, was sent to the prince from some of the heads of colleges; assuring him, that they would declare for him, and inviting him to come thither, telling him, that their plate should be at his service, if he needed it. This was a sudden

^P (In Burnet's Speech at Sacheverel's trial, it is added, that sir Edward threatened, if they had not an association ready by to-morrow, he would leave them before night. The Continuator of Mackintosh's

History of the Revolution, ch. xv. p. 483, writes on the authority of the Halifax MS. that the prince suspected Seymour, and ordered an officer named Gibson to watch his actions.)

turn from those principles that they had carried 1688.
 so high a few years before. The prince had designed to have secured Bristol and Gloucester, and so to have gone to Oxford, the whole west being then in his hands, if there had been any appearance of a stand to be made against him by the king and his army; for, the king being so much superior to him in horse, it was not advisable to march through the great plains of Dorsetshire and Wiltshire. But the king's precipitate return to London put an end to this precaution^o. The earl of Bath had prevailed with the garrison of Plymouth: and they declared for the prince^p. So now all behind him was safe. When he came to Sherburn, all Dorsetshire came in a body, and joined him. He resolved to make all the haste he could to London, where things were in a high fermentation.

A bold man ventured to draw and publish

^o ("The chief wrong which
 " the memory of James has suf-
 " fered from ungenerous ene-
 " mies, disappointed friends,
 " and the voice of history, is
 " the imputation of having
 " abandoned his army with
 " dastardly haste. He did not
 " abandon it; he returned
 " with the infantry, leaving
 " the cavalry behind him under
 " the command of lord Fever-
 " sham. His first day's march
 " was only from Salisbury to
 " Andover (eighteen miles).
 " This negatives *precipitated*,
 " and above all, the charge
 " of having separated himself
 " from his troops." Continua-

tion of Mackintosh's *Hist. of the Revolution*, ch. 15. p. 500.)

^p ("The earl of Bath has
 " seized on the earl of Hunt-
 " ington at Plimouth, and se-
 " cured him. He has seized
 " on other papists in that
 " place, and put them on board
 " captain Churchill's ship in
 " that harbour. He has sent
 " the prince of Orange word,
 " that he will keep Plimouth
 " for him, and has declared
 " for a free parliament." From
 an unpublished Letter of the
 earl of Clarendon to the mar-
 quis of Worcester, preserved
 in the Bodleian Library, and
 dated Nov. 24th, 1688.)

1688. another declaration in the prince's name. It was
 Great dis-
 orders in
 London. penned with great spirit: and it had as great an
 effect. It set forth the desperate designs of the
 papists, and the extreme danger the nation was in
 by their means, and required all persons immedi-
 ately to fall on such papists as were in any em-
 ployments, and to turn them out, and to secure
 all strong places, and to do every thing else that
 was in their power to execute the laws, and to
 bring all things again into their proper channels.
 This set all men at work: for no doubt was made,
 794 that it was truly the prince's declaration. But he
 knew nothing of it. And it was never known
 who was the author of so bold a thing^q. No per-
 son ever claimed the merit of it: for, though it
 had an amazing effect, yet it seems, he that con-
 trived it apprehended, that the prince would not
 be well pleased with the author of such an im-

^q But always supposed to have been one much known by the name of Julian Johnson. D. (This was Samuel Johnson, the political writer, and author, among other books, of one entitled *Julian the Apostate*; but another person was perhaps concerned in this forgery; according to his own story, the real framer of the declaration was Hugh Speke, a little before mentioned, whose brother had been condemned by Jeffries in Monmouth's rebellion. See Dalrymple's *Memoirs*, vol. I. p. 171, who says also at p. 177, that as the same Speke reports in his pamphlet, he invented the infamous lie, that the Irish part of the dis-

banded army had begun a massacre of the protestants. But Echard, in his *History of the Revolution*, doubts the truth of Speke's relations, pp. 183 and 198. on the ground of the lateness of their publication; yet this man's share in raising the report of the massacre was mentioned in print before his own accounts were published. If these accounts are true, it was incumbent on the prince, to whom Speke says, he shewed the pretended declaration soon after its dispersion, to have taken care that the nation should be acquainted with the imposture.)

posture in his name. The king was under such a 1688.
 consternation, that he neither knew what to resolve on, nor whom to trust. This pretended declaration put the city in such a flame, that it was carried to the lord mayor, and he was required to execute it. The prentices got together, and were falling upon all mass houses, and committing many irregular things. Yet their fury was so well governed, and so little resisted, that no other mischief was done: no blood was shed.

The king now sent for all the lords in town, that were known to be firm protestants. And, ^{A treaty begun with the prince.} upon speaking to some of them in private, they advised him to call a general meeting of all the privy counsellors, and peers, to ask their advice, what was fit to be done. All agreed in one opinion, that it was fit to send commissioners to the prince to treat with him. This went much against the king's own inclinations: yet the dejection he was in, and the desperate state of his affairs, forced him to consent to it. So the marquis of Hallifax, the earl of Nottingham, and the lord Godolphin, were ordered to go to the prince, and to ask him what it was that he demanded. The earl of Clarendon reflected the most on the king's former conduct of any in that assembly, not without some indecent and insolent words, which were generally condemned^r. He expected,

^r He said he had often told him what would be the consequence of his actions, and if he had minded him more, his affairs had never been in the condition they were now brought to; but flattery was always more agreeable to princes than good advice. In confirmation of which he quoted a scrap of Latin, with very pedantic solemnity. D. (His

1688. as was said, to be one of the commissioners: and, upon his not being named, he came and met the prince near Salisbury. Yet he suggested so many peevish and peculiar things, when he came, that some suspected all this was but collusion, and that he was sent to raise a faction among those who were about the prince. The lords sent to the prince to know where they should wait on him: and he named Hungerford. When they came thither, and had delivered their message, the prince called all the peers and others of chief note about him, and advised with them what answer should be made. A day was taken to consider of an answer^s. The marquis of Hallifax sent for me. But the prince said, though he would suspect nothing from our meeting, others might. So I did not speak with him in private, but in the hearing of others. Yet he took occasion to ask me, so as no body observed it, if we had a mind to have the king in our hands. I said, by no means; for we would not hurt his person. He asked next, what if he had a mind

brother the earl of Rochester afterwards used the like freedom with king William, much to his majesty's dislike. See lord Dartmouth's Note on Burnet's *Hist.* vol. II. p. 516.)

^s (Of the various arts used by the prince, during his route to London, to evade receiving the king's proposals, which he did not answer before the ninth of December, see a relation in Ralph's History of England, vol. I. p. 1055. The king's commissioners had re-

ceived their passes from the prince, who was then between Bath and Salisbury, at Reading on the third of the above month. But it should be here observed, that the French ambassador then resident in London always suspected, that James on his part only entered into a negotiation with the prince in order to gain time for his departure from the kingdom. See Mazure's *Hist. de la Révolution*, IV. 25. p. 233.)

to go away. I said, nothing was so much to be wished for. This I told the prince. And he approved of both my answers. The prince ordered the earls of Oxford, Shrewsbury, and Clarendon, to treat with the lords the king had sent^t. And they delivered the prince's answer to them on Sunday the eighth of December. 1688. 795

He desired a parliament might be presently called, that no men should continue in any employment, who were not qualified by law, and had not taken the tests; that the tower of London might be put in the keeping of the city; that the fleet, and all the strong places of the kingdom, might be put in the hands of protestants; that a proportion of the revenue might be set off for the pay of the prince's army; and that during the sitting of the parliament, the armies of both sides might not come within thirty miles of London^u; but, that the prince might come on to London, and have the same number of his guards about him, that the king kept about his person. The lords seemed to be very well satisfied with this answer. They sent it up by an express, and went back next day to London.

But now strange counsels were suggested to the king and queen. The priests, and all the violent papists, saw a treaty was now opened. They knew, that they must be the sacrifice. The whole design of popery must be given up, without any

The king
left the
kingdom.

^t (The earl of Clarendon in his Diary says, the persons ordered to treat with the other lords were, marshal Schomberg, the earl of Oxford, and

himself, p. 109.)

^u (In the Autograph thirty is substituted for sixty. Twenty is in the Transcript and first edition.)

1688. hope of being able in an age to think of bringing it on again. Severe laws would be made against them. And all those who intended to stick to the king, and to preserve him, would go into those laws with a particular zeal: so that they, and their hopes, must be now given up, and sacrificed for ever. They infused all this into the queen. They said, she would certainly be impeached: and witnesses would be set up against her and her son: the king's mother had been impeached in the long parliament: and she was to look for nothing but violence. So the queen took up a sudden resolution of going to France with the child. The midwife, together with all who were assisting at the birth, were also carried over, or so disposed of, that it could never be learned what became of them afterwards*. The queen prevailed with the king, not only to consent to this, but to promise to go quickly after her^y. He

* That is strange and incredible. S. (The king afterwards offered to send over these witnesses of the birth, who were with him in France. See a note below at page 817 folio edit.)

^y (A different account is given in the *Life of King James II.* where it is said, that the "queen had a great reluctance to this journey, not so much for the hazard and inconveniences of it, as to leaving the king in so doubtful a situation—; and therefore when it was first proposed, her majesty absolutely refused it in reference to

herself, telling the king she "was very willing that the prince her son should be sent to France, or where it was thought most proper for his security." It is added, "that the reluctance which the queen had to part from the king made some persons who wished him well, and thought his leaving the kingdom too precipitate, suspect her majesty to have been the occasion of it, which was the farthest thing in the world from her thoughts; she neither advised it, nor urged him to it; on the contrary, it was

was only to stay a day or two after her, in hope 1688.
 that the shadow of authority that was still left in
 him might keep things so quiet, that she might
 have an undisturbed passage. So she went to
 Portsmouth^y. And from thence, in a man of
 war, she went over to France, the king resolving
 to follow her in disguise. Care was also taken to
 send all the priests away. The king stayed long
 enough to get the prince's answer. And when he
 had read it, he said, he did not expect so good
 terms. He ordered the lord chancellor to come
 to him next morning. But he had called secretly 796
 for the great seal. And the next morning, being
 the tenth of December, about three in the morn-

"her own staying, not his
 "going, her majesty contend-
 "ed for." Vol. II. p. 244.
 However, that the queen, on
 her finally consenting to go
 away herself, obtained an as-
 surance, that it was the king's
 intention to follow her, appears
 to be true.)

^y The prince of Wales had
 been sent to Portsmouth and
 brought back again: but the
 queen went from Whitehall
 privately, with the prince, &c.
 in a barge down the Thames,
 where a ship lay to receive her.
 In a letter dated December
 10th, to lord Dartmouth, the
 king says, "Things having so
 "very bad a prospect, I could
 "no longer defer securing the
 "queen and my son; which I
 "hope I have done, and that
 "by to-morrow they will be
 "out of the reach of my ene-
 "mies. I am at ease now I
 "have sent them away. I

"have not heard this day
 "from my commissioners, with
 "the prince of Orange, who I
 "believe will hardly be pre-
 "vailed with to stop his march,
 "so that I am in no good
 "condition; nay, in as bad
 "a one as is possible." D.
 ("The queen crossed the
 "Thames from Whitehall to
 "Lambeth, where she took
 "coach, and went to Graves-
 "end; here she embarked in
 "a vessel prepared for this
 "purpose, sailed down the
 "river, and landed at Calais." *Bevill Higgon's Remarks*, p.
 306. The particulars of her
 flight are mentioned in *D'Or-
 leans's Revolutions of Eng-
 land*, p. 315, 316. A con-
 temporary MS. relation of the
 queen's departure from Eng-
 land, taken from the original
 MS., will be printed at the end
 of this volume.)

1688. ing he went away in disguise with sir Edward Hales, whose servant he seemed to be. They passed the river, and flung the great seal into it; which was some months after found by a fisherman near Fox-Hall^z. The king went down to a miserable fisher boat, that Hales had provided for carrying them over to France.

He is much censured.

Thus a great king, who had yet a good army and a strong fleet, did choose rather to abandon all, than either to expose himself to any danger with that part of the army that was still firm to him, or to stay and see the issue of a parliament. Some put this mean and unaccountable resolution on a want of courage. Others thought it was the effect of an ill conscience, and of some black thing under which he could not now support himself. And they who censured it the most moderately, said, that it shewed, that his priests had more regard to themselves than to him; and that he considered their interests more than his own; and that he chose rather to wander abroad with them, and to try what he could do by a French force to subdue his people, than to stay at home^a, and be shut up within the bounds of law, and be brought under an incapacity of doing more mischief; which they saw was necessary to quiet those

^z (It is elsewhere said to have been found by the fisherman, soon after it had been thrown in. "The king," writes the Continuator of Mackintosh's *History of the Revolution*, "to embarrass his enemy cancelled the patent for the new sheriffs, (see "Narcissus Marsh's Diary,)

"and the writ issued for calling a parliament, and took away the great seal." ch. xvi. p. 528.)

^a He seems to be vexed that the king did not stay to be insulted by the prince of Orange, and at last served as his father was. *Cole*.

fears and jealousies, for which his bad government had given so much occasion. It seemed very unaccountable, since he was resolved to go, that he did not choose rather to go in one of his yachts or frigates than to expose himself in so dangerous and ignominious a manner. It was not possible to put a good construction on any part of the dishonourable scene which he then acted^b. 1688.

With this his reign ended : for this was a plain

^b Lord Godolphin wrote to him to advise his withdrawing for the present, which, he said, would leave the kingdom in such confusion, that his subjects would be glad in a year's time to beg for his return upon their knees. D. (Dr. Lingard, citing his authorities, relates, that though he did not advise his return, yet he blamed his flight under the notion that the conditions, if they had been approved by the king, would probably have been executed by the prince, *Hist. of England*, x. 4. p. 371. Perhaps lord Godolphin's view of things was what lord Dartmouth reports him to have stated to the king, or it may be that his counsel was insidious. This nobleman, when it was proposed in the council of peers to read the king's declaration of his reasons for withdrawing from the kingdom, eluded the motion, under the plea that it contained nothing which bore on the question in debate. Lingard, p. 383. And D'Avaux, at the conclusion of his Negotiations, says, that after the arrival of the prince of Orange

in England, he repeated the information to his master the king of France, which he had given long before, that Godolphin betrayed the king of England. So the marquis of Halifax is known to have sent a letter to the king, both informing him of ill designs against his person, and asserting that a resolution had been taken by the prince's advisers at Windsor to imprison him. See sir John Reresby's *Memoirs*, pp. 178, 180, and D'Orleans's *Revolutions of England*, p. 314. The marquis is said to have afterwards made a merit of having frightened the king away. Certain it is, that he was sent by king James as his commissioner to treat with the prince of Orange then at Hungerford, and on the first opportunity asked our author whether they wished to have the king in their hands ; and when the news came to the prince at Windsor of the king's return to London from Feversham, returned himself to expel him from his palace. He was ignorant, it must be observed, of the king's secret determi-

1688. deserting his people, and the exposing the nation to the pillage of an army, which he had ordered the earl of Feversham to disband^c. And the doing this without paying them, was the letting so many armed men loose upon the nation; who might have done much mischief, if the execution of those orders that he left behind him had not been stopped^d. I shall continue the recital of all that passed in this *interregnum*, till the throne, which he now left empty, was filled.

nation to quit the kingdom, when he privately asked Burnet, upon their first meeting, whether they had a mind to have him in their hands? and on his answering in the negative, the marquis asked next, "What, if he had a mind to go away?" He told sir J. Reresby, that a friend of theirs "wondered that he the marquis of all men living should contend that the king had abdicated, when he knew himself to have been so directly instrumental in forcing him away, by sending him word, that if he staid his life would be in danger." *Reresby*, where more is related.)

^c Abominable assertion, and false consequence. S. (This consequence from the king's first attempt to leave the kingdom was then drawn by the prince of Orange's friends in general. See lord Clarendon's *Diary*, p. 115. 117.) On reading the king's last address to his army, "Un cri," writes Mazure, "de douleur s'éleva de tous les rangs de l'armée: officiers et soldats protes-

"toient de leur fidélité. Les uns vouloient rester réunis et sous les armes. L'autorité du général prévalut, et l'armée, ainsi licenciée, se sépara, chacun errant à l'aventure, où le hasard le conduire." vol. III. xxi. p. 241.)

^d ("Somebody told the prince (of Orange) how lord Feversham had disbanded the king's army; and that the soldiers were all running up and down, not knowing what course to take: at which the prince seemed very angry at lord Feversham, and said, I am not to be thus dealt with."

Lord Clarendon's Diary, p. 114. Lord Feversham had acted by the king's order. Some outrages were committed by the disbanded soldiers, for it appears from a printed *Diary of the Expedition of the Prince of Orange*, p. 73, that a party of Irish soldiers robbed, and otherwise ill treated, the rector of Tylehurst, a parish near Reading, and his family, under pretence that the king had not paid them.)

He was not got far, when some fishermen of 1688. Feversham, who were watching for such priests, and other delinquents, as they fancied were making their escape, came up to him. And they, knowing sir Edward Hales, took both the king and him, and brought them to Feversham. The king told them who he was^e. And that flying about

But is
brought
back.

^e And desired they would send to Eastwell for the earl of Winchelsea; which sir Basil Dixwell put a stop to, by telling him, sure they were good enough to take care of him. Which occasioned the king's saying, he found there was more civility amongst the common people than some gentlemen, when he was returned to Whitehall. D. " (The earl " of Winchelsea, whom he " had made lord lieutenant of " the county of Kent, and " constable of Dover castle, " not only waited on him immediately, with all the respect he could have shewn him, when he sat firmest on his throne, but wisely and honestly made use of the opportunity to convince him, that he ought not to abandon his dominions, but that he ought rather to return to London, to collect his friends about him, and to open a negotiation with the prince of Orange." *Ralph's History of England*, vol. I. p. 1068. It may be observed on the king's final resolution to withdraw himself from the kingdom, that his application through the bishop of Win-

chester to be received by the bishops, had been declined in consequence of their inability to protect him; which fact the king forcibly urged on the earl of Middleton's consideration, when he advised his stay. The king was sensible, that although he was in the midst of his subjects, he was entirely in the power of his enemies. Besides the letters addressed to him from various quarters, which counselled him to leave the kingdom, it appears, both from his own and other relations, that he was apprised of lord Churchill's late plan to convey him from his army to the prince of Orange's quarters. See note above at p. 322. And compare Speke's *History of the Revolution*, p. 61—63. But although the king sometimes hesitated, as he well might, about quitting his dominions; and his mind was nearly over-set by his misfortunes, which known fact is alluded to by himself in the Maillet MS. (see below page 814, folio ed.) yet from Barillon the French ambassador's dispatches it appears, that on his return to London from Salisbury he

1688. brought a vast crowd together, to look on this
 797 astonishing instance of the uncertainty of all
 worldly greatness; when he who had ruled three
 kingdoms, and might have been the arbiter of all
 Europe, was now in such mean hands, and so low
 an equipage. The people of the town were ex-
 tremely disordered with this unlooked for acci-
 dent: and, though for a while they kept him as a
 prisoner, yet they quickly changed that into as
 much respect as they could possibly pay him^f.
 Here was an accident that seemed of no great
 consequence. Yet all the strugglings which that
 party have made ever since that time to this day,
 which from him were called afterwards the Jacob-
 ites, did rise out of this: for, if he had got clear
 away, by all that could be judged, he would not
 have had a party left: all would have agreed, that
 here was a desertion, and that therefore the na-
 tion was free, and at liberty to secure itself. But
 what followed upon this gave them a colour to
 say, that he was forced away, and driven out^g.
 Till now, he scarce had a party, but among the
 papists. But from this incident a party grew up,
 that has been long very active for his interests.
 As soon as it was known at London, that the king
 was gone, the prentices and the rabble, who had

embraced the resolution of
 withdrawing, rather than sub-
 mit to the necessity of a
 change of men and measures.)

^f (He was treated in the
 most shocking and disrespect-
 ful manner by those who first
 visited him; and sometimes
 there was considerable danger

to his person, as may be seen
 in a letter of an eyewitness
 published in Tindal's Conti-
 nuation of Rapin's Hist. of
 England, p. xxiii.)

^g So he certainly was, both
 now and afterwards. S. Was
 he not as much drove away
 before? *Cole.*

been a little quieted when they saw a treaty on foot between the king and the prince, now broke out again upon all suspected houses, where they believed there were either priests or papists. They made great havock of many places, not sparing the houses of ambassadors. But none were killed, no houses burnt, nor were any robberies committed ^h. Never was so much fury seen under so much management. Jefferies, finding the king was gone, saw what reason he had to look to himself: and, apprehending that he was now exposed to the rage of the people, whom he had provoked with so particular a brutality, he had disguised himself to make his escape ⁱ. But he fell into the hands of some who knew him ^k. He was in ——— 1688.

^h Don Pedro de Ronquillo's house was plundered and pulled down; he was Spanish ambassador. S. (Add the house of the minister of the duke of Florence, on the authority of Rapin in his *Hist.* confirmed by a contemporary letter in Ellis's *Second Series of Original Letters*, vol. IV. p. 178. A different account is also given by the king himself in his life lately published, vol. II. p. 257. See too sir John Reresby's *Memoirs*, p. 169, Evelyn's *Diary*, vol. I. p. 619, and D'Orleans's *Revolutions of England*, p. 318. Several Roman catholic chapels were either demolished or burnt. As early as the eighth of November, the king, on account of some riotous assemblages, had ordered all of them to be shut up. Lingard's *Hist.* X. 4. p. 367, 368. Yet it appears

from Ralph's detail, p. 1060, that the bishop is founded in his assertion, that the fury of the mob was under management.)

ⁱ In a common sailor's habit. O.

^k (A scrivener of Wapping, who saw him at a window of an upper chamber in a poor alehouse there. He had been rated and terribly frightened by Jefferies some time before, in the court of chancery, and as the man was coming out of the court, he said, "The fierceness of Jefferies's countenance on that occasion had made such an impression upon his mind, that he believed he should never have it out of his thoughts." And by this it was, that he immediately knew him, although so disguised. This

1688. sulted by them with as much scorn and rudeness as they could invent. And, after many hours tossing him about, he was carried to the lord mayor; whom they charged to commit him to the tower^l, which the lord Lucas had then seized, and in it had declared for the prince^m. The lord mayor was so struck with the terror of this rude populace, and with the disgrace of a man who had made all people tremble before him, that he fell into fits upon it, of which he died soon afterⁿ.

The prince is desired to come and take the government into his hands.

To prevent the further growth of such disorders, he called a meeting of the privy counsellors and peers, who met at Guildhall. The archbishop of Canterbury was also there. They gave a strict charge for keeping the peace; and agreed to send an invitation to the prince, desiring him to come

story, with some variation, is mentioned in the *Life of the Lord Keeper North*, p. 220. O.

^l He soon after died in the tower by drinking strong liquors. S. (Echard was assured the contrary by a person who was often with Jeffries during his confinement, and who said that the stone was the only bodily disorder that troubled him. *History of England*, p. 1130. He told doctor Sharp, afterwards archbishop of York, that the report of his giving up himself to hard drinking, was grounded on nothing more than his use of punch, to alleviate the pressure of stone or gravel, under which he at that time laboured. *Life of Archbishop Sharp*, by his son, lately published, p. 97.)

^m He was put in possession of the tower by an order of the lords at Guildhall. D.

ⁿ (This account is confirmed by a contemporary Letter of the lord Weymouth, at this time preserved in Magdalen College, Oxford, to sir Robert Southwell of Kings Weston. "The lord mayor," he writes, "continues ill with the fright he took at my lord chancellor's coming before him; he was dead some time, and fell into strange convulsions. Wee have sent lords Chandos, North, Ossulston, to examine my lord chancellor, but they are not returned, soe wee know not their report." The letter is dated December 15, 1688.)

and take the government of the nation into his hands, till a parliament should meet to bring all matters to a just and full settlement. This they all signed^o; and sent it to the prince by the earl of Pembroke, the viscount of Weymouth^p, the bishop of Ely, and the lord Culpepper. The

1688.

798

^o ("Bishop Burnet takes care to remember that the archbishop was there; and to be express that this invitation to the prince they all signed; but their own declaration bears witness, that no such thing passed at this meeting; and when such a thing did pass, it is but justice to acknowledge that the archbishop was not there. So strangely does he jumble different facts together; and so fatally does he mislead his readers by these means." *Ralph's Hist. of England*, vol. I. p. 1061. Compare Dr. D'Oyly's *Life of Archbishop Sancroft*, vol. I. p. 392—398.)

^p Lord Weymouth was a weak proud man, with a vast estate, and exprest great warmth against king James, and all his proceedings: but not being so well received by the prince as the earl of Pembroke, which he expected, immediately espoused king James's interest with great zeal; which he continued to do to his death. He was very liberal to non-jurors, though he always took the oaths himself: which occasioned his house being constantly full of

people of that sort, who cried him up for a very religious man; which pleased him extremely, having affected to be thought so all his life: which the companions of his youth would by no means allow. D. (Lord Weymouth appears to have been an honest man than most of his contemporaries; attached to the church of England, he could not but highly disapprove of king James's measures. In the unpublished Letter just cited, he gives the following account of his interview with the prince: "Wee who were sent by the lords met the prince at Wallingford on Thursday morning at 9 o'clock instant, just as he was taking horse; soe he desired us to accompany him to Henley. He received our declaration very civilly, made us dine with him, and returned his acknowledgments to the lords for their care; but being invited by the city, he would in a few days come to London; and lay at Windsor that night." This nobleman was the kind host of the deprived bishop Ken during the remainder of his life.)

1688. prince went on from Hungerford to Newbury, and from thence to Abington, resolving to have gone to Oxford to receive the compliments of the university, and to meet the princess Anne who was coming thither. At Abington, he was surprised with the news of the strange catastrophe of affairs now at London, the king's desertion, and the disorders which the city and the neighbourhood of London were falling into. One came from London, and brought him the news, which he knew not well how to believe, till he had an express sent him from the lords, who had been with him from the king. Upon this the prince saw how necessary it was to make all possible haste to London. So he sent to Oxford, to excuse his not coming thither, and to offer the association to them, which was signed by almost all the heads, and the chief men of the university: even by those, who, being disappointed in the preferments they aspired to, became afterwards his most implacable enemies^q.

Hitherto the expedition had been prosperous, beyond all that could have been expected. There had been but two small engagements, during this unseasonable campaign. One was at Winkington [Wincanton] in Dorsetshire, where an advanced party of the prince's met one of the king's that was thrice their number: yet they drove them before them into a much greater body, where they were overpowered with numbers. Some were killed of both sides^r. But there were more pri-

^q Malice. S.

the bishop's relation, that the

^r (It appears, according to advantage was on the side of

soners taken of the prince's men. Yet, though 1688.
 the loss was of his side, the courage that his men
 shewed in so great an equality as to number, made
 us reckon that we gained more than we lost on
 that occasion^s. Another action happened at Read-
 ing, where the king had a considerable body, who,
 as some of the prince's men advanced, fell into
 a great disorder, and ran away^t. One of the
 prince's officers was shot. He was a papist: and the
 prince, in consideration of his religion, was willing
 to leave him behind him in Holland: but he very
 earnestly begged he might come over with his
 company: and he was the only officer that was
 killed in the whole expedition.

Upon the news of the king's desertion, it was
 proposed that the prince should go on with all
 possible haste to London. But that was not ad-
 visable. For the king's army lay so scattered
 through the road all the way to London, that it
 was not fit for him to advance faster, than as his
 troops marched before him: otherwise, any reso-799

Different
 advice
 given to
 the prince
 concerning
 the king's
 person.

the king's force; and it is
 stated by the Continuator of
*Mackintosh's History of the
 Revolution*, c. 15, p. 493, that
 "the commanding officer of
 "the king's party claimed a
 "decided success in an offi-
 "cial account addressed to
 "lord Churchill." Col. Maine's
Relation of a Skirmish, &c., in
 MS. Preston Papers, is cited.)

^s ("There were about fif-
 "teen tumbled in one grave
 "together, and about eight or
 "nine of our men, the rest
 "being of the enemy's party."

p. 59. of the Diary before and
 next cited.)

^t ("The inhabitants sent to
 "the advanced part of the
 "prince's army, then a few
 "miles distant, who readily
 "came to their assistance, be-
 "ing conducted a byway into
 "the town, and fought so cou-
 "rageously, that in a few mi-
 "nutes they put the Irish to
 "flight, took some, and killed
 "about twenty." Diary of the
 Expedition of the Prince of
 Orange by a Chaplain in his
 Army, p. 69. 4to. 1689.)

1688. lute officer might have seized or killed him. Though, if it had not been for that danger, a great deal of mischief, that followed, would have been prevented by his speedy advance: for now began that turn, to which all the difficulties, that did afterwards disorder our affairs, may be justly imputed. Two gentlemen of Kent came to Windsor the morning after the prince came thither. They were addressed to me. And they told me of the accident at Feversham, and desired to know the prince's pleasure upon it^u. I was affected with this dismal reverse of the fortune of a great prince, more than I think fit to express^x. I went immediately to Benthink, and wakened him, and got him to go in to the prince, and let him know what had happened, that some order might be presently given for the security of the king's person, and for taking him out of the hands of a rude multitude, who said, they would obey no orders but such as came from the prince. The prince ordered Zuytlestein to go immediately to Feversham, and to see the king safe, and at full liberty to go whithersoever he pleased^y. But, as soon as the news of the king's being at Feversham came to London, all the indignation that people had formerly conceived against him was turned to pity

^u To one of these gentlemen Burnet said, "Why did you stop him?" See antea, 794, at the bottom of the page. O. (Napleton, one of the gentlemen sent, replied to Burnet's question, "Would you have had him torn in pieces by the mob?" Con-

tinuation of Mackintosh's *History of the Revolution*, ch. xvi. p. 540.)

^x Or than I will believe. S.
^y (But not to come nearer London than Rochester, as the duke of Bucks and father Orleans assert.)

and compassion. The privy council met upon it. 1688. Some moved, that he should be sent for. Others said, he was king, and might send for his guards and coaches, as he pleased: but it became not them to send for him. It was left to his general, the earl of Feversham, to do what he thought best^z. So he went for him with his coaches and guards. And, as he came back through the city, he was welcomed with expressions of joy by great numbers: so slight and unstable a thing is a mul-

^z (According to the account of the duke of Bucks, the council was sitting when the news was brought of the king's detention by the mob. Works, vol. II. p. 7, who adds, that at length the earl of Feversham was sent to rescue the king from all dangers, and afterwards to attend him toward the sea-side if he continued his resolution of retiring. The rudeness of the sailors, and the danger the king was in, even of his life, from them and the other mob, may be seen in the letter said above to be inserted by Tindal in his Continuation of Rapin's History of England, as it is also by Ralph in his History of England, p. 1067. He was detained from Wednesday till Saturday morning. Lord Weymouth, in the unpublished Letter cited before at pp. 349 and 350, writes thus at the time of the notice of his king's intention to return: "I will not trouble you," he says to sir Robert Southwell, "with the story of the king's

" seizure at Feversham, nor
 " what was done by the lords
 " here upon notice of it, being
 " absent, because I suppose
 " you have it fully; but just
 " now, at ten o'clock, comes
 " an express from lord Myd-
 " dleton by the king's com-
 " mand, that he is returning
 " hither, will be at Rochester
 " this night, and desires his
 " guards and coaches may
 " be sent to Dartford, and
 " his lodgings made ready
 " for him against to-morrow
 " night. All which is order-
 " ed. A copy of the letter is
 " sent by the duke of Grafton
 " to the prince, and it will be
 " communicated to the city.
 " The lord mayor," &c., (as
 " cited above,) "I am yours."
 In a postscript. "Because the
 " news may make a change in
 " Ireland, wee have stopt the
 " post for Ireland this night.
 " I add this, because I know
 " your concern for that na-
 " tion." See what Burnet
 writes about Ireland a little
 below.)

1688. titude, and so soon altered. At his coming to Whitehall, he had a great court about him. Even the papists crept out of their lurking holes, and appeared at court with much assurance. The king himself began to take heart. And both at Feversham, and now at Whitehall, he talked in his ordinary high strain, justifying all he had done: only he spoke a little doubtfully of the business of Magdalen college. But when he came to reflect on the state of his affairs, he saw it was so broken, that nothing was now left to deliberate upon^a.

^a (According to Barillon, the French ambassador, he placed no reliance on his reception by the people. See Mazure's *Hist. de la Révolution*, III. 25. p. 221. The expression of joy at that time is denied to have been so general as is commonly reported. The following interesting particulars are detailed in the *Memoirs of Lord Balcarras*. What respects the offer from the army has been communicated from the MS. by sir John Dalrymple in his *Memoirs of Great Britain*, vol. I. p. 249. On the last day of the king's residence in London, the earl of Balcarras and the viscount Dundee presented themselves, charged with offers of service from the privy council in Scotland. "They were received affectionately by the king, but observed that none were with him but some of the gentlemen of his bed-chamber. One of the generals of his disbanded army

"entered while they were
 "there, and told the king that
 "most of his generals and
 "colonels of his guards had
 "assembled that morning,
 "upon observing the universal
 "joy of the city on his return;
 "that the result of their
 "meeting was to tell his majesty
 "that much was still in their
 "power to serve and defend
 "him; that most part of the
 "disbanded army was either
 "in London or near it, and that
 "if he would order them to beat their
 "drums, they were confident
 "twenty thousand men could
 "be got together before the
 "end of the day. 'My lord,'
 "said the king, 'I know you
 "to be my friend, sincere and
 "honourable; the men who
 "sent you are not so, and I
 "expect nothing from them.'
 "He then said, 'It was a fine
 "day, and he would take a
 "walk.' None attended him
 "but Colin and lord Dundee.
 "When he was in the Mall,

So he sent the earl of Feversham to Windsor, 1688.
without demanding any passport: and ordered
him to desire the prince to come to St. James's,
to consult with him of the best way for settling
the nation^b.

“ he stopped and looked at
“ them, and asked how ‘ they
“ came to be with him, when
“ all the world had forsaken
“ him and gone to the prince
“ of Orange?’ Colin said,
“ ‘ their fidelity to so good a
“ master would ever be the
“ same; they had nothing to
“ do with the prince of
“ Orange.’ Then said the
“ king, ‘ Will you two, as gen-
“ tlemen, say you have still
“ an attachment to me?’ ‘ Sir,
“ we do.’ ‘ Will you give me
“ your hands upon it, as men
“ of honour?’ They did so.
“ ‘ Well, I see you are the
“ men I always took you to
“ be; you shall know all my
“ intentions. I can no longer
“ remain here but as a cypher,
“ or be a prisoner to the
“ prince of Orange, and you
“ know there is but a small
“ distance between the pri-
“ sons and the graves of
“ kings; therefore I go for
“ France immediately. When
“ there, you shall have my in-
“ structions. You, lord Bal-
“ carres, shall have a com-
“ mission to manage my civil
“ affairs; and you, lord Dun-
“ dee, to command my troops
“ in Scotland.’—*Biographical*
“ *notice of Colin earl of Bal-*
“ *carres by lord Lindsay, his*
“ *descendant; from the origi-*

nal family document. Printed
“ by the Bannatyne Club.” The
above passage is taken from
Miss Strickland’s *Lives of the*
Queens of England, vol. IX.
ch. 6. p. 275.)

^b (“The king, when he came
“ to London, sent a message
“ to sir Thomas Stamp, now
“ mayor, and to sir Simon
“ Lewis, two eminent alder-
“ men of that city; desiring
“ them to acquaint their bre-
“ thren, and others of the
“ common-council; that he
“ was resolved to put himself
“ into the hands of the city,
“ there to remain, until by a
“ free parliament he had given
“ all satisfaction to his peo-
“ ple, by securing their reli-
“ gion, liberties, and proper-
“ ties to the full; hoping in
“ the mean time, they would
“ take care to guard and se-
“ cure his person. The fore-
“ said persons communicated
“ this message, as they were
“ desired; but by the influence
“ and interest of sir Robert
“ Clayton, the offer was re-
“ fused, and the security of
“ his person would not be as-
“ sured to him.” *Great Bri-*
tain’s Just Complaint, p. 8, a
Tract cited above, which is at-
tributed to sir James Montgo-
mery, and was first printed in
1692. The king published with

1688.

When the news of what had passed at London came to Windsor, the prince thought the privy council had not used him well, who, after they had sent to him to take the government upon him, had made this step without consulting him.

800 Now the scene was altered, and new counsels were to be taken. The prince heard the opinions, not only of those who had come along with him, but of such of the nobility as were now come to him, among whom the marquis of Hallifax was one. All agreed, that it was not convenient that the king should stay at Whitehall. Neither the king, nor the prince, nor the city, could have been safe, if they had been both near one another. Tumults would probably have arisen out of it. The guards, and the officious flatterers, of the two courts, would have been unquiet neighbours. It was thought necessary to stick to the point of the king's deserting his people, and not to give up that by entering upon any treaty with him. And since the earl of Feversham, who had commanded the army against the prince, was come without a passport, he was for some days put in arrest ^c.

the advice of his privy-council an Order against riotous and tumultuous meetings. It was the last act of his government.)

^c Base and villainous. S. (Against the practice and law of nations, says king James, in his Reasons for withdrawing. The earl, whom the king had ordered to disband the army without providing for their pay, was kept a prisoner

during a fortnight, if the following account given by Echard, in his History of the Revolution, is accurate. The prince, on the evening of the 31st of December, made a public visit to the queen dowager, and, among other questions, pleasantly asked her majesty, how she passed her time; and whether she played at basset. On which the queen took the opportunity of answering his

1688.

It was a tender point how to dispose of the king's person. Some proposed rougher methods: the keeping him a prisoner, at least till the nation was settled, and till Ireland was secured. It was thought, his being kept in custody, would be such a tie on all his party, as would oblige them to submit and be quiet. Ireland was in great danger. And his restraint might oblige the earl of Tyrconnell to deliver up the government, and to disarm the papists, which would preserve that kingdom, and the protestants in it. But, because it might raise too much compassion, and perhaps some disorder, if the king should be kept in restraint within the kingdom, therefore the sending him to Breda was proposed. The earl of Clarendon pressed this vehemently, on the account of the Irish protestants, as the king himself told me^d: for those that gave their opinions in this

highness, That she had not played at that game since the absence of her chamberlain, who used to keep the bank. The prince immediately took the hint, and told her, he would by no means interrupt her majesty's diversion, and the next day set the earl at liberty, p. 219. This relation, with all its circumstances, we now find confirmed in the *Life of James II.* collected from memoirs written by himself. Vol. II. p. 272.)

^d The prince, I suppose, after he was king. O. (On the state of Ireland see note below at p. 807, folio ed. The earl of Clarendon's own story is

this, in order to meet the report, that he had advised the imprisoning king James, and sending him to the tower, that " he told lord Abingdon a
" great part of what had
" passed at Windsor, but
" withal that they had all pro-
" mised secrecy of what was
" at that time discoursed;
" and that he further assured
" his lordship, that except at
" that time at Windsor, he had
" never been present at any
" discourse about what should
" be done with king James:
" but told him, he was in-
" deed against his being sent
" away. That lord Abingdon
" was very well satisfied with

1688. matter did it secretly and in confidence to the prince. The prince said, he could not deny but that this might be good and wise advice : but it was that to which he could not hearken : he was so far satisfied with the grounds of this expedition, that he could act against the king in a fair and

“ what he had told him : and
 “ that they both agreed not
 “ to speak of what they had
 “ said to each other.” *Diary*,
 p. 202. The proposal of con-
 fining the king is meant, and
 it is here asserted, that he sa-
 tisfied his friend in this point.
 The account given in *The Con-
 duct of the Duchess of Marl-
 borough*, p. 18, is, that lord
 Clarendon advised sending
 the king to the tower ; and
 this report is recognised else-
 where. So it should seem
 that this nobleman, like sever-
 al others, was for king James
 in the succeeding reign, be-
 cause he was not permitted to
 serve king William. As it
 happened afterwards, at the
 accession of the house of Han-
 over, when many went over to
 the interests of the old family,
 because they were not em-
 ployed by the new. Sir John
 Hynde Cotton, who was a
 leading member amongst the
 tories in the last parliament
 of queen Anne, used to de-
 clare, as a person of undoubt-
 ed credit long since dead often
 mentioned, that he had been
 privy to no design of bring-
 ing in the son of king James
 upon the queen’s death, but
 said, that when he returned to

London after that event, he
 found his old friends turned
 Jacobites. Respecting the in-
 tentions of the tories at that
 time, see also the earl of Peter-
 borough’s declaration to Pope
 mentioned in a preceding note,
 p. 780, folio edit. And among
 the Carte papers in the Bod-
 leian library, there is a well
 attested relation given by
 Carte of the lord Boling-
 broke’s undoubtedly preparing
 to send over Mr. Drummond,
 a person in his confidence, to
 Hanover, to make up the dis-
 pute with that court : the
 execution of which measure
 was prevented by the sudden-
 ness of the queen’s death ; but
 it is added, no credit was
 vouchsafed to the truth of this
 account afterwards. On the
 other hand, Lockhart of Carn-
 warth, who managed the in-
 trigues of the Jacobites at this
 period, professes his opinion,
 that the restoration of her
 brother was designed by the
 queen and by her ministry,
 but retarded by the discords
 and divisions of her servants,
 and at last altogether ob-
 structed and prevented by her
 death. See his *Commentaries*
 in the *Lockhart Papers*, lately
 published. Vol. I. p. 483.)

open war: but for his person, now that he had him in his power, he could not put such a hardship on him, as to make him a prisoner: and he knew the princess's temper so well, that he was sure she would never bear it: nor did he know what disputes it might raise, or what effect it might have upon the parliament that was to be called: he was firmly resolved never to suffer any thing to be done against his person: he saw it was necessary to send him out of London: and he would order a guard to attend upon him, who should only defend and protect his person, but not restrain him in any sort. 1688.

A resolution was taken of sending the lords 801
Hallifax, Shrewsbury, and Delamere, to London, who were first to order the English guards that were about the court to be drawn off, and sent to quarters out of town: and, when that was done, the count of Solms with the Dutch guards was to come and take all the posts about the court^e. This was obeyed without any resistance or disorder, but not without much murmuring^f. It

^e (The prince of Orange wished others to share with him in the responsibility of removing the king from his palace. Mazure in his History of the Revolution of 1688 writes thus: "Halifax, qui venoit de faire prendre cette résolution, demanda qu'elle fût notifiée à Jacques II par le comte de Solmes, qui commandoit les Gardes hollandaises. 'Avec votre permission,' répliqua vivement le prince

" d'Orange, 'cette décision est de vous, elle sera portée au Roi par vous.' Et sans attendre de réponse, il chargea de ce dur message les lords De la Mère, Shrewsbury et Halifax." tome III. 26. p. 262.)

^f ("When the stout earl of Craven resolved to be rather cut in pieces, than to resign his post at Whitehall to the prince's guards, the king prevented that unnecessary

1688. was midnight before all was settled. And then these lords sent to the earl of Middleton, to desire him to let the king know, that they had a message to deliver to him from the prince. He went in to the king; and sent them word from him, that they might come with it immediately. They came, and found him abed. They told him, the necessity of affairs required that the prince should come presently to London: and he thought it would conduce to the safety of the king's person, and the quiet of the town, that he should retire to some house out of town: and they proposed Ham. The king seemed much dejected; and asked, if it must be done immediately. They told him, he might take his rest first: and they added, that he should be attended by a guard, who should only guard his person, but should give him no sort of disturbance. Having said this, they withdrew. The earl of Middleton came quickly after them, and asked them, if it would not do as well, if the king should go to Rochester; for since the prince was not pleased with his coming up from Kent, it might be perhaps acceptable to him, if he should go thither again. It was very visible, that this was proposed in order to a second escape^g.

They promised to send word immediately to

“ bloodshed with a great deal
 “ of care and kindness.” Sheffield duke of Bucks's *Account of the Revolution*, p. 389. Count Solms the Dutch commander had taken possession of St. James's according to the king's agreement with

Zuylestein, of Whitehall, also, where the king then was, before the arrival of the three abovementioned lords. See Mazure's *Histoire de la Révolution*, III. 26. p. 266.)

^g And why not? S.

the prince of Orange, who lay that night at Sion, 1688. within eight miles of London. He very readily consented to it. And the king went next day to Rochester, having ordered all that which is called the moving wardrobe to be sent before him, the count of Solms ordering every thing to be done as the king desired. A guard went with him that left him at full liberty, and paid him rather more respect than his own guards had done of late^h. Most of that body, as it happened, were papists. So when he went to mass, they went in, and assisted very reverently. And when they were asked how they could serve in an expedition that was intended to destroy their own religion, one of them answered, his soul was God's, but his sword was the prince of Orange's. The king was so much delighted with this answer, that he repeated it to all that came about him. On the same day the prince came to St. James's. It happened to be a very rainy day. And yet great numbers

The prince came to London, and the king went to Rochester.

^h (This want of respect seems to be alluded to in the king's own account of these transactions. "When some difficulty was made, whether he should venture to sleep in the middle of the Dutch guard, he said he knew not whether they or his own were worse, and went to bed at his usual hour, and slept with as much tranquillity as he ever did in his life." *Life of James II.* vol. II. p. 265. Yet it is said that he asked for a hundred of his own foot guards

to escort him. "Among those who attended him in the barge the king names lords Arran, Dunbarton, Litchfield, and Aylesbury, sir John Fenwick, sir John Talbot, and colonels Southville and Sutherland, who had thrown up their commissions in the army. A party of the foot guards of the prince of Orange went in boats before and behind the king's barge." *Continuation of Mackintosh's Hist. of the Revolution*, ch. 17. p. 550.)

1688. came to see him. But, after they had stood long
 802 in the wet, he disappointed them: for he, who
 neither loved shews nor shoutings, went through
 the park. And even this trifle helped to set
 people's spirits on edge.

The revolution was thus brought about, with
 the universal applause of the whole nation: only
 these last steps began to raise a fermentation. It
 was said, here was an unnatural thing, to waken
 the king out of his sleep, in his own palace, and
 to order him to go out of it, when he was ready
 to submit to every thing. Some said, he was now
 a prisoner, and remembered the saying of king
 Charles the first, that the prisons and the graves
 of princes lay not far distant from one another:
 the person of the king was now struck at, as well
 as his government: and this specious undertaking
 would now appear to be only a disguised and de-
 signed usurpationⁱ. These things began to work

ⁱ All this is certainly true. S. (The following reflections
 on these events are made by
 Burnet himself in the MS.
 Draught of his own Life, now
 in the possession of the uni-
 versity of Oxford. "If king
 " James had to any tolerable
 " degree kept up his spirit,
 " the work would have been
 " difficult, if not doubtful; for
 " we saw how variable multi-
 " tudes are by the joy that
 " was in London on the king's
 " return from Feversham; and
 " the message sent by the
 " prince at midnight to with-
 " draw from Whitehall struck
 " a general damp upon many,
 " not only in London but over
 " the whole nation. Their
 " compassion turned then to
 " his side, and if he had stayed
 " at Rochester, the difficulty
 " in the convention would
 " have become insuperable.
 " This gave the earls of Cla-
 " rendon and Nottingham their
 " handle to make great oppo-
 " sition in the house of lords;
 " the prince of Orange's cold
 " reserved way disobliger all
 " that came near him, while
 " his favourite Bentinck pro-
 " voked them by his rough-
 " ness.")

on great numbers. And the posting the Dutch guards where the English guards had been, gave a general disgust to the whole English army. They indeed hated the Dutch besides, on the account of the good order and strict discipline they were kept under; which made them to be as much beloved by the nation, as they were hated by the soldiery. The nation had never known such an inoffensive march of an army. And the peace and order of the suburbs, and the freedom of markets in and about London, was so carefully maintained, that in no time fewer disorders had been committed than were heard of this winter. 1688.

None of the papists or Jacobites were insulted in any sort. The prince had ordered me, as we came along, to take care of the papists, and to secure them from all violence. When he came to London, he renewed these orders, which I executed with so much zeal and care, that I saw all the complaints that were brought me fully redressed. When we came to London, I procured passports for all that desired to go beyond sea. Two of the popish bishops were put in Newgate. I went thither in the prince's name. I told them, the prince would not take upon him yet to give any orders about prisoners: as soon as he did that, they should feel the effects of it. But in the mean while I ordered them to be well used, and to be taken care of, and that their friends might be admitted to come to them. So truly did I pursue the principle of moderation, even towards those from whom nothing of that sort was to be expected.

1688.

The prince was welcomed by all sorts of people.

Now that the prince was come, all the bodies about the town came to welcome him. The bishops came the next day. Only the archbishop of Canterbury, though he had once agreed to it, yet would not come^k. The clergy of London came

^k (Dr. D'Oyly, in his Life of the Archbishop, observes, that according to bishop Burnet's statement, "the archbishop had once consented "to wait on the prince," but that this fact rests on his sole authority, chap. x. p. 409. That the archbishop declined waiting on the prince is related in bishop Patrick's *Autobiography*, published in 1849, page 360. He appears to have acted consistently with his principles throughout these difficult times; except, perhaps, when he granted commissions to other bishops to execute his metropolitical authority: which still he might be induced to do in order to take from the government the plea of necessity for dispossessing him of his see on account of his refusing to consecrate new bishops. It is improbable, that he who refused to send his blessing to the princess of Orange, until she had first obtained her father's, would visit her husband, on his taking forcible possession of the other's palace. It is more likely that our author, who misrepresents the archbishop as applying to the prince to take upon himself the government, should be mistaken in this point also. The archbishop long before

the revolution remarked "that "there was no difference "between Cromwell and the "prince, but that the one's name "was Oliver and the other's "William." See Dr. Smith's Narrative in Howell's *State Trials*, vol. XIII. p. 87. The following passage in the works of Sheffield duke of Bucks has lately been brought forward by Dr. Lingard in his History of England. "Halifax was "chosen chairman in the absence of the archbishop of "Canterbury, because after "he had signed the address "to the prince, he never would "appear in public affairs, or "pay the least sort of respect "to the prince of Orange, "even after he was elected "king of England; and yet, "on the other side, had been "as morose to king James "before, in never acknowledging his son, or shewing him "the least civility. Buckingham, II. p. xiv. xvi. xviii." *History of England*, X. 4. p. 370. With respect to the address to the prince, see note before, at p. 392. On the latter part of this extract it may be said, that the archbishop might be somewhat staggered by the stories which, it is well known, were brought to him impeaching the legitimacy of the young prince.

next. The city, and a great many other bodies, 1688. came likewise, and expressed a great deal of joy ——— for the deliverance wrought for them by the 803 prince's means. Old serjeant Maynard came with the men of the law. He was then near ninety, and yet he said the liveliest thing that was heard of on that occasion. The prince took notice of his great age, and said, that he had outlived all the men of the law of his time: he answered, he had liked to have outlived the law it self, if his highness had not come over¹.

The first thing to be done after the compli- Consultations about the settle-
ments were over, was to consider how the nation ment of the
was to be settled. The lawyers were generally of nation.
opinion^m, that the prince ought to declare himself king, as Henry the seventh had done. This, they said, would put an end to all disputes, which might otherwise grow very perplexing and tedious: and, they said, he might call a parliament which would be a legal assembly, if summoned by the king in fact, though his title was not yet recognised. This was plainly contrary to his declaration, by which the settlement of the nation was referred to a parliament: such a step would make all that

Let the treatment also he had met with from the king be remembered. He had been dismissed the privy council, forbid the court, and tried for a pretended libel, by his direction. Still he came forward to offer his advice and assistance to his sovereign in distress when they were required of him; gave a written disavowal of having invited the

prince of Orange; and finally resigned his archbishopric rather than transfer his allegiance.)

¹ He was an old rogue for all that. S.

^m Pollexfen, particularly, as I have heard. O. (The Continuator of Mackintosh's History of the Revolution adds the name of Holt, on the authority of the Halifax MS.)

1688. the prince had hitherto done pass for an aspiring ambition, only to raise himself: and it would disgust those who had been hitherto the best affected to his designs; and make them less concerned in the quarrel, if, instead of staying till the nation should offer him the crown, he would assume it as a conquest. These reasons determined the prince against that proposition. He called all the peers, and the members of the three last parliamentsⁿ, that were in town, together with some of the citizens of London. When these met, it was told them, that, in the present distraction, the prince desired their advice about the best methods of settling the nation. It was agreed in both these houses, such as they were, to make an address to the prince, desiring him to take the administration of the government into his hands in the interim. The next proposition passed not so unanimously: for, it being moved, that the prince should be likewise desired to write missive letters to the same effect, and for the same persons to whom writs were issued out for calling a parliament, that so there might be an assembly of men in the form of a parliament, though without writs under the great seal, such as that was that had called home king Charles the second. To this the earl of Nottingham objected, that such a convention of the states could be no legal assembly, unless summoned by the king's writ. Therefore he moved, that an address might be made to the king, to order the writs to be issued out. Few were of his mind. The matter was carried the other way:

ⁿ Of any of the parliaments of king Charles the second. O.

and orders were given for those letters to be sent round the nation. 1688.

The king continued a week at Rochester. And 804 both he himself, and every body else, saw that he was at full liberty, and that the guard about him put him under no sort of restraint. Many that were zealous for his interests went to him, and pressed him to stay, and to see the issue of things: a party would appear for him: good terms would be got for him: and things would be brought to a reasonable agreement. He was much distracted between his own inclinations, and the importunities of his friends. The queen, hearing what had happened, writ a most vehement letter to him, pressing his coming over, remembering him of his promise, which she charged on him in a very earnest, if not in an imperious strain. This letter was intercepted. I had an account of it from one that read it. The prince ordered it to be conveyed to the king: and that determined him°. So he gave secret orders to prepare a vessel for him; and drew a paper, which he left on his table, re-

The king
went over
into
France.

° (“ According to the narrative of James himself, he “ was decided by the meeting of the lords at Westminster on the 22nd of December.” *Continuation of Mackintosh's Hist. of the Revolution*, ch. xvii. p. 561. Where, at page 564, the following extract from the Manuscript, of the Nuns of Chailot, an account by the king himself, from his first flight to his final escape, is produced. “ King

“ James,” they say, “ when placing in their hands the “ narrative of his flight from “ England, declared, ‘ that he “ was taken by surprise; that “ if the thing were to be “ done over again, he would “ act differently; and that “ even overwhelmed, and surprised as he was, if he had “ had time to collect himself, “ he would have taken other “ measures.’ ” See note, p. 394.)

1688. proaching the nation for their forsaking him. He declared, that though he was going to seek for foreign aid to restore him to his throne, yet he would not make use of it to overthrow either the religion established, or the laws of the land. And so he left Rochester very secretly, on the last day of this memorable year, and got safe over to France.

The affairs
of Scotland.

But, before I enter into the next year, I will give some account of the affairs of Scotland. There was no force left there, but a very small one, scarce able to defend the castle of Edinburgh, of which the duke of Gordon was governor. He was a papist; but had neither the spirit nor the courage which such a post required at that time. As soon as the news came to Scotland of the king's desertion, the rabble got together there, as they had done in London. They broke into all popish chapels, and into the church of Holyrood house, which had been adorned at a great charge to be a royal chapel, particularly for the order of St. Andrew and the thistle, which the king had resolved to set up in Scotland, in imitation of the order of the garter in England^p. They defaced it

^p It was revived in the reign of queen Anne, with some new regulations; and (they) styled themselves knights of the most ancient order of St. Andrew, though nobody ever read or heard of a knight of St. Andrew, till king James the second of England and seventh of Scotland. All the pretence for antiquity, is some old pictures of kings of Scotland,

with medals of St. Andrew hung in gold chains about their necks, who has always been esteemed the patron of Scotland: and every body knows that gold chains and medals were worn formerly for ornaments by persons of quality, and are still given to ambassadors, and upon other occasions. But king Charles the second used to tell a story of

1688.

quite, and seized on some that were thought great delinquents, in particular on the earl of Perth, who had disguised himself, and had got aboard a small vessel: but he was seized on, and put in prison. The whole kingdom, except only the castle of Edinburgh, declared for the prince, and received his declaration for that kingdom with great joy. This was done in the north very unanimously, by the episcopal, as well as by the presbyterian party. But in the western counties, the presbyterians, who had suffered much in a course of many years, thought that the time was now come, not only to procure themselves ease and liberty, but to revenge themselves upon others. They generally broke in upon the episcopal clergy with great insolence and much cruelty. They carried them about the parishes in a mock procession: they tore their gowns, and drove them from their churches and houses. Nor did they treat those of them, who had appeared very zealously against popery, with any distinction^a. The bishops of that kingdom had writ a very indecent letter to the king, upon the news of the prince's being blown back by the storm, full of injurious expressions of the prince, expressing their abhorrence of his designs: and, in conclusion, they wished that the king might have the necks of his enemies. This was sent up as a pattern to the

a Scotchman, that desired a grant for an old mill, because he understood they had some privileges, and were more in esteem than new. D. (King James's intention to establish

this order was prevented by the revolution.)

^a To reward them for which, king William abolished episcopacy. S. See note at p. 344.

1688. English bishops, and was printed in the gazette. But they did not think fit to copy after it in England. The episcopal party in Scotland saw themselves under a great cloud: so they resolved all to adhere to the earl of Dundee^r, who had served some years in Holland, and was both an able officer, and a man of good parts, and of some very valuable virtues: but, as he was proud and ambitious, so he had taken up a most violent hatred of the whole presbyterian party, and had executed all the severest orders against them with great rigour; even to the shooting many on the highway, that refused the oath required of them^s.

^r He was the best man in Scotland. S.

^s (In Woodrow's and Crookshank's Histories of the sufferings of the presbyterians in Scotland, there are relations somewhat differing from each other of Dundee's shooting an innocent person, called the Christian carrier, at the door of his own house; but as neither of these writers states the interrogatories, which it appears were previously put to him, and his death took place at the time when lord Dundee was employed on the borders of Scotland in preventing further insurrections and stopping all communication between Argyle and Monmouth, there is reason to suspect that this person had been concerned in conveying intelligence to the insurgents. Compare Memoirs of Lord Viscount Dundee, at p. 21,

and the preface. But it has now been observed by Macaulay, in his *History of England*, vol. I. ch. 4. p. 550, that "the Christian carrier was shot on the first of May, when both Argyle and Monmouth were in Holland, and when there was no insurrection in either England or Scotland." Lord Argyle left Holland on the second of May; and according to Ferguson, who in lord Grey's opinion then spoke the truth, had been actively engaged in soliciting the cooperation of his friends in Scotland. See lord Grey's *Confession*, p. 95—97. Granger, in his Biographical History of England, observes, that Dundee was a man of too noble a nature to execute his orders against the dissenters in their full rigour. Vol. IV. p. 297. And sir John Dalrymple, in his Memoirs of

The presbyterians looked on him as their most implacable enemy: and the episcopal party trusted most entirely to him. Upon the prince's coming to London, the duke of Hamilton called a meeting of all the men of quality of the Scottish nation then in town: and these made an address to the prince with relation to Scotland, almost in the same terms in which the English address was conceived. And now the administration of the government of the whole isle of Britain was put in the prince's hands. 1688.

The prospect from Ireland was more dreadful. Tyrconnell gave out new commissions for levying thirty thousand men. And reports were spread about that island, that a general massacre of the protestants was fixed to be in November. Upon which the protestants began to run together for their common defence, both in Munster and in Ulster. They had no great strength in Munster. They had been disarmed, and had no store of ammunition for the few arms that were left them. So they despaired of being able to defend themselves, and came over to England in great numbers, and full of dismal apprehensions for those they had left behind them. They moved earnestly, The affairs of Ireland.

Great Britain and Ireland, relates, that during his exploits against the covenanters, lord Dundee being blamed for his severities excused himself by saying, that if terror ended in preventing crime, it was true mercy. Vol. I. part 2. book ii. p. 344. After all, it should seem that the author of those

never perishing tales, in which the manners and sentiments of past ages and of different countries are revived and perpetuated, whilst the affections are touched with a master's hand, had ascertained the truth of many of the reports concerning the severities of the gallant Claverhouse.)

1688. that a speedy assistance might be sent to them.

— In Ulster the protestants had more strength: but they wanted a head. The lords of Grenard and Mountjoy, who were the chief military men among 806 them, in whom they confided most, kept still such measures with Tyrconnell, that they would not take the conduct of them. Two towns, that had both very little defence about them, and a very small store of provisions within them, were by the rashness or boldness of some brave young men secured: so that they refused to receive a popish garrison, or to submit to Tyrconnell's orders. These were London-Derry and Iniskilling. Both of them were advantageously situated. Tyrconnell sent troops into the north to reduce the country. Upon which great numbers fled into those places, and brought in provisions to them. And so they resolved to defend themselves, with a firmness of courage that cannot be enough admired: for when they were abandoned, both by the gentry and the military men, those two small unfurnished and unfortified places resolved to stand to their own defence, and, at all perils, to stay till supplies should come to them from England^s. I will not enlarge more upon the affairs of that kingdom; both because I had no occasion to be well informed about them, and because Dr. King, now archbishop of Dublin, wrote a copious history of the government of Ireland during this reign, which is so well received, and so universally acknowledged to be as truly as it is

^s He should have mentioned doctor Walker, who defended Derry. S.

finely written, that I refer my reader to the account of those matters, which is fully and faithfully given by that learned and zealous prelate. 1688.

And now I enter upon the year 1689. In 1689. which the two first things to be considered, before the convention could be brought together, were, the settling the English army, and the affairs of Ireland. As for the army, some of the bodies, those chiefly that were full of papists, and of men ill affected, were to be broken. And, in order to that, a loan was set on foot in the city, for raising the money that was to pay their arrears at their disbanding, and for carrying on the pay of the English and Dutch armies till the convention should meet, and settle the nation. This was the great distinction of those who were well affected to the prince: for, whereas those who were ill affected to him refused to join in the loan, pretending there was no certainty of their being repaid; the others did not doubt but the convention would pay all that was advanced in so great an exigence, and so they subscribed liberally, as the occasion required.

As for the affairs of Ireland, there was a great variety of opinions about them. Some thought, that Ireland would certainly follow the fate of England. This was managed by an artifice of Tyrconnell's, who, what by deceiving, what by threatening the eminentest protestants in Dublin, got them to write over to London, and give 807 assurances that he would deliver up Ireland, if he might have good terms for himself and for the

1689. Irish. The earl of Clarendon was much depended on by the protestants of Ireland, who made all their applications to the prince by him. Those, who were employed by Tyrconnell to deceive the prince, made their applications by sir William Temple, who had a long and well established credit with him^t. They said, Tyrconnell would never lay down the government of Ireland, unless he was sure that the earl of Clarendon was not to succeed: he knew his peevishness and spite, and that he would take severe revenges for what he thought had been done by his enemies to himself, if he had them in his power: and therefore he would not treat, till he was assured of that. Upon this the prince did avoid the speaking to the earl of Clarendon of those matters. And then he, who had possessed himself in his expectation of that post, seeing the prince thus shut him out of the hopes of it, became a most violent opposer of the new settlement. He reconciled himself to king James: and has been ever since one of the hottest promoters of his interest of any in the nation. Temple entered into a management with Tyrconnell's agents, who, it is very probable, if things had not taken a great turn in England, would have come to a composition. Others thought, that the leaving Ireland in that dangerous state, might be a mean to bring the conven-

^t A lie of a Scot: for sir William Temple did not know Tyrconnell. S. It is not probable that sir William Temple himself engaged at all in this matter. See the account of

his Life, written by his sister, the lady Giffard. It was most likely to be young Temple, sir William's son. See the two next pages. O.

tion to a more speedy settlement of England; 1689. and that therefore the prince ought not to make too much haste to relieve Ireland^u. This advice was generally believed to be given by the marquis of Hallifax: and it was like him. The prince did not seem to apprehend enough the consequences of the revolt of Ireland; and was much blamed for his slowness in not preventing it in time.

The truth was, he did not know whom to trust. A general discontent, next to mutiny, began to spread it self through the whole English army. The turn that they were now making from him, was almost as quick as that which they had made to him. He could not trust them. Probably, if he had sent any of them over, they would have joined with Tyrconnell. Nor could he well send over any of his Dutch troops. It was to them that he chiefly trusted, for maintaining the quiet of England. Probably the English army would have become more insolent, if the Dutch force had been considerably diminished. And the king's

^u That is agreed to be the true reason, and it was a wicked one. S. The duke of Leeds told me, that lord Tyrconnell sent several messages to king William, that he was ready to deliver up Ireland, if he would but give him a decent excuse, by sending any thing that looked like a force to demand it; but lord Hallifax told him, that if Ireland was quiet, there would be no pretence for keeping up an army, and if there was none,

he would be turned out as easily as he had been brought in: for it was impossible to please England long, and he might see they began to be discontented already. D. (This note of lord Dartmouth has been communicated to the public by Dalrymple, in the Appendix to his Memoirs, p. 342. See observations on it by Somerville, in his Hist. of Political Transactions, vol. I. p. 321.)

The prince
in treaty
with the
earl of
Tyrconnell.

1689. magazines were so exhausted, that till new stores
were provided, there was very little ammunition
to spare. The raising new troops was a work of
time. There was no ship of war in those seas to
808 secure the transport. And to send a small com-
pany of officers with some ammunition, which was
all that could be done on the sudden, seemed to
be an exposing them to the enemy. These consi-
derations made him more easy to entertain a pro-
position that was made to him, as was believed,
by the Temples; (for sir William had both a bro-
ther and a son that made then a considerable
figure;) which was, to send over lieutenant general
Hamilton, one of the officers that belonged to
Ireland. He was a papist, but was believed to
be a man of honour: and he had certainly great
credit with the earl of Tyrconnell. He had served
in France with great reputation, and had a great
interest in all the Irish, and was now in the
prince's hands; and had been together with a
body of Irish soldiers, whom the prince kept for
some time as prisoners in the Isle of Wight;
whom he gave afterwards to the emperor, though,
as they passed through Germany, they deserted in
great numbers, and got into France. Hamilton
was a sort of prisoner of war. So he undertook
to go over to Ireland, and to prevail with the earl
of Tyrconnell to deliver up the government; and
promised, that he would either bring him to it,
or that he would come back, and give an account
of his negotiation. This step had a very ill effect:
for before Hamilton came to Dublin, the earl of
Tyrconnell was in such despair, looking on all as

lost, that he seemed to be very near a full resolution of entering on a treaty, to get the best terms that he could. But Hamilton's coming changed him quite. He represented to him, that things were turning fast in England in favour of the king: so that, if he stood firm, all would come round again. He saw, that he must study to manage this so dexterously, as to gain as much time as he could, that so the prince might not make too much haste, before a fleet and supplies might come from France. So several letters were writ over by the same management, giving assurances that the earl of Tyrconnell was fully resolved to treat and submit. And, to carry this further, two commissioners were sent from the council-board to France. The one was a zealous protestant, the other was a papist. Their instructions were, to represent to the king the necessity of Ireland's submitting to England. The earl of Tyrconnell pretended, that in honour he could do no less than disengage himself to his master, before he laid down the government. Yet he seemed resolved not to stay for an answer, or a consent; but that, as soon as this message was delivered, he would submit upon good conditions: and for these, he knew, he would have all that he asked. With this management he gained his point, which was much time. And he now fancied, that the honour of restoring the king would belong chiefly to himself. Thus Hamilton, by breaking his own faith, secured the earl of Tyrconnell to the king: and this gave the beginning to the war of Ireland. Mountjoy, the protestant lord that was sent to

1689.

1689. France, instead of being heard to deliver his message, was clapt up in the Bastile; which, since he was sent in the name of a kingdom, was thought a very dishonourable thing, and contrary to the law of nations. Those who had advised the sending over Hamilton were now much out of countenance: and the earl of Clarendon was a loud declaimer against it. It was believed, that it had a terrible effect on sir William Temple's son, who had raised in the prince a high opinion of Hamilton's honour. Soon after that, he, who had no other visible cause of melancholy, besides this, went in a boat on the Thames, near the bridge, where the river runs most impetuously, and leapt into the river, and was drowned*.

The convention met.

The sitting of the convention was now very near. And all men were forming their schemes, and fortifying their party all they could. The elections were managed fairly all England over. The prince did in no sort interpose in any recommendation, directly or indirectly. Three parties were formed about the town. The one was for calling back the king, and treating with him for such securities to religion and the laws, as might

* ("He left a paper in the boat; wherein were written these words: 'My folly in undertaking what I was not able to execute, hath done the king great prejudice. May his undertakings prosper, and may he have an abler servant than I.' This was written in the boat, with a black lead, upon the cover

of a letter to himself; which was the occasion of the discovery, for the watermen did not know him." *Lord Clarendon's Diary*, p. 183. He had been made secretary of war. *Sir John Reresby's Memoirs*, p. 197. See more concerning Hamilton, vol. II. of Burnet's Hist. p. 59, folio edit.)

put them out of the danger for the future of a 1689.
dispensing or arbitrary power. These were all of the high church party, who had carried the point of submission and non-resistance so far, that they thought nothing less than this could consist with their duty and their oaths. When it was objected to them, that, according to those notions that they had been possessed with, they ought to be for calling the king back without conditions: when he came, they might indeed offer him their petitions, which he might grant or reject as he pleased: but that the offering him conditions, before he was recalled, was contrary to their former doctrine of unconditioned allegiance. They were at such a stand upon this objection, that it was plain, they spoke of conditions, either in compliance with the humour of the nation, or that, with relation to their particular interest, nature was so strong in them, that it was too hard for their doctrine^z.

When this notion was tossed and talked of

^z (The absurd doctrine of non-resistance in all cases, and unconditional allegiance to any government, or what, if possible, is still more absurd, of unlimited obedience to one branch of a constitution, ought never to have been inculcated by any individuals or body of men. Yet there seems to have been a wide difference between using every method to get rid of a prince, who offered to redress, and to prevent in future, all grievances, as he did before he was deserted by the persons he had most obliged, and the opposing him when

he abused his prerogative to the subversion of law; and when he pretended, as his advocates did for him in licensed publications, to a power of superadding to the legally established rites of religion, such ceremonies as would assimilate the church of England to that of Rome. The opposers of illegal proceedings might very laudably propose treating with the king for securities to their religion and laws; especially as very many of them had never embraced or inculcated the doctrine of unconditional obedience.)

1689. about the town, so few went into it, that the party which supported it went over to the scheme of a second party; which was, that king James had by his ill administration of the government brought himself into an incapacity of holding the exercise of sovereign authority any more in his own hand^a. But, as in the case of lunatics, the right still remained in him: only the guardianship, or the exercise, of it was to be lodged with a prince regent: so that the right of sovereignty should be owned to remain still in the king, and that the exercise of it should be vested in the prince of Orange as prince regent. A third party was for setting king James quite aside, and for setting the prince on the throne.

Some are
for a prince
regent.

When the convention was opened on the twenty-fourth of January, the archbishop came not to take his place among them. He resolved neither to act for nor against the king's interest: which, considering his high post, was thought very unbecoming. For if he thought, as by his behaviour

^a (The truth of the matter was, that the king had acted so ill in England, and so much worse in Ireland and Scotland, and was at the same time so deficient in point of discretion, and so intent on making proselytes among those he employed, that even the friends of monarchy feared his recall. His notions respecting the obedience due to princes, and his zeal for the advancement of Romanism at the expense of law and justice, injured his reputation for truth and sin-

cerity. A pretty fair and true character of this prince is given by bishop Burnet in the second volume of his History, p. 292. folio edit. Such kings, it is to be lamented, involve in their ruin better and wiser men than themselves. Yet with all his faults and errors king James was a man of business, a brave seaman skilled in naval affairs, a kind father, and surpassed only by his brother Charles in the general courtesy of his manners.)

afterwards it seems he did, that the nation was 1689.
 running into treason, rebellion, and perjury, it was
 a strange thing to see one, who was at the head
 of the church, sit silent all the while that this was
 in debate; and not once so much as declare his
 opinion by speaking, voting, or protesting, not to
 mention the other ecclesiastical methods that cer-
 tainly became his character^b. But he was a poor-
 spirited and fearful man; and acted a very mean
 part in all this great transaction^c. The bishops'

^b In a manuscript memoir of some passages of the life and times of archbishop Wake, written by himself, (which I have read,) he mentions a fact of Sancroft, which agrees very much with this character of him. He says, that upon the prince of Orange's coming to London, the clergy there met to consider, among other things relating to themselves at that juncture, what they should do as to the form of prayers which had been appointed and read in the churches, against the prince's invasion; and though all agreed to forbear the further use of the prayers, yet they thought it decent, before they came to a formal resolution for that, to depute some of their body to wait upon the archbishop at Lambeth, to know his sense of it, and have his consent to it; that the archbishop received the application with a good deal of disorder, and declined to give any opinion upon it: but on their pressing him for his opinion, he desired them to look upon

the title of the form of prayers, which directed it to be used during the time of public apprehensions from the *danger* of invasion, and then left it to them to consider, whether that time was not over by the invasion taking place. O.

^c Others think very differently. S. (See an able discussion of the motives which influenced the archbishop's conduct in Dr. D'Oyly's *Life* of him, vol. I. ch. x. p. 430—444: where however a complete justification of his inactivity is not attempted. Perhaps the archbishop paid too much attention to the information and suggestions of Lloyd, bishop of St. Asaph, a warm and busy stickler for the interests of the prince of Orange with whom, as it has lately appeared, he corresponded, and on account of his great learning well acquainted with many of the opposite party. See note before at p. 182, and Dr. Smith's *Narrative* in Bell's *State Trials*, vol. XII. p. 31. Still let it be remembered, that his

1689. bench was very full, as were also the benches of the temporal lords. The earls of Nottingham, Clarendon, and Rochester, were the men that managed the debates in favour of a regent, in opposition to those who were for setting up another king.

They thought this would save the nation, and yet secure the honour of the church of England, and the sacredness of the crown. It was urged, that if, upon any pretence whatsoever, the nation might throw off their king, then the crown must become precarious, and the power of judging the king must be in the people. This must end in a commonwealth. A great deal was brought from both the laws and history of England, to prove, that not only the person, but the authority of the king was sacred. The law had indeed provided the remedy of a regency for the infancy of our kings. So, if a king should fall into such errors in his conduct, as shewed that he was as little capable of holding the government as an infant was, then the estates of the kingdom might, upon this parity of the case, seek to the remedy provided for an infant, and lodge the power with a regent. But the right was to remain, and to go on in a lineal succession: for, if that was once put ever so little out of its order, the crown would in a little

election to the chancellorship of the university of Cambridge about this time, which he declined accepting, shews the sense entertained by that learned body of the archbishop's high merit. "Our holy pri-
"mate," writes a complier

with the revolution, "as his
"enemies confess, is a person
"of stupendous gifts and ad-
"mirable piety, and most se-
"raphic in the austerities of
"his life." *Apology for the
Suspended Bishops*, p. 161.)

time become elective; which might rend the nation in pieces by a diversity of elections, and by the different factions that would adhere to the person whom they had elected. They did not deny, but that great objections lay against the methods that they proposed. But affairs were brought into so desperate a state by king James's conduct, that it was not possible to propose a ^{1689.} 811 remedy that might not be justly excepted to. But they thought, their expedient would take in the greatest, as well as the best, part of the nation: whereas all other expedients gratified a republican party, composed of the dissenters, and of men of no religion, who hoped now to see the church ruined, and the government set upon such a bottom, as that we should have only a titular king; who, as he had his power from the people, so should be accountable to them for the exercise of it, and should forfeit it at their pleasure. The much greater part of the house of lords was for this, and stuck long to it: and so was about a third part of the house of commons. The greatest part of the clergy declared themselves for it^d.

But of those who agreed in this expedient, it was visible there were two different parties. Some intended to bring king James back; and went into this, as the most probable way for laying the nation asleep, and for overcoming the present aversion that all people had to him. That being once done, they reckoned it would be no hard thing, with the help of some time, to compass the other. Others seemed to mean more sincerely.

^d And it was certainly much the best expedient. S.

1689. They said, they could not vote or argue but according to their own principles, as long as the matter was yet entire : but they owned that they had taken up another principle, both from the law and from the history of England ; which was, that they would obey and pay allegiance to the king for the time being : they thought a king thus *de facto* had a right to their obedience, and that they were bound to adhere to him, and to defend him, even in opposition to him with whom they thought the right did still remain. The earl of Nottingham was the person that owned this doctrine the most during these debates. He said to my self, that though he could not argue nor vote, but according to the scheme and principles he had concerning our laws and constitution, yet he should not be sorry to see his side out voted ; and that, though he could not agree to the making a king as things then stood, yet if he found one made, he would be more faithful to him, than those that made him could be according to their own principles.

Others are
for another
king.

The third party was made up of those, who thought that there was an original contract between the kings and the people of England ; by which the kings were bound to defend their people, and to govern them according to law, in lieu of which the people were bound to obey and serve the king^e. The proof of this appeared in the ancient forms of coronations still observed : by which the people were asked, if they would

^e I am of this party, and yet I would have been for a regency. S.

have that person before them to be their king: 1689.
 and, upon their shouts of consent, the coronation 812
 was gone about. But, before the king was crowned,
 he was asked, if he would not defend and protect
 his people, and govern them according to law:
 and, upon his promising and swearing this, he was
 crowned: and then homage was done him. And,
 though of late the coronation has been considered
 rather as a solemn instalment, than that which
 gave the king his authority, so that it was become
 a maxim in law that the king never died, and
 that the new king was crowned in the right of
 his succession, yet these forms, that were still
 continued, shewed what the government was ori-
 ginally^f. Many things were brought to support
 this from the British and Saxon times. It was
 urged, that William the conqueror was received
 upon his promising to keep the laws of Edward
 the confessor, which was plainly the original con-
 tract between him and the nation. This was
 often renewed by his successors. Edward the
 second and Richard the second were deposed for
 breaking these laws: and these depositions were
 still good in law, since they were not reversed,
 nor was the right of making them ever renounced
 or disowned^g. Many things were alleged, from

^f Anciently the kings of England dated their reign from the day of their coronation: of later times, from the day of their predecessor's death: but the doctrine of unconditional allegiance was never heard of in England till king James the first's time, whose arbitrary,

illegal administration could be justified by no former rules of government. D. (Compare that administration with the practical government of the Tudors.)

^g ("We have standing records which express all manner of detestation of king

1689. what had passed during the barons' wars, for confirming all this. Upon which I will add one particular circumstance, that the original of king John's Magna Charta, with his great seal to it, was then given to me by a gentleman that found it among his father's papers, but did not know how he came by it: and it is still in my hands. It was said in this argument, what did all the limitations of the regal power signify, if, upon a king's breaking through them all, the people had not a right to maintain their laws and to preserve their constitution? It was indeed confessed, that this might have ill consequences, and might be carried too far. But the denying this right in any case whatsoever, did plainly destroy all liberty, and establish tyranny. The present alteration proposed would be no precedent, but to the like case. And it was fit that a precedent should be made for such occasions; if those of Edward the second and Richard the second were not acknowledged to be good ones. It was said, that, if king James had only broken some laws, and done some

"Richard's deposition and
"murder, and which brand
"Henry IV. as an usurper."
Impartial Reflections upon Bishop Burnet's Posthumous History, p. 108. See the Parliament Rolls in the first year of Edward IV. quoted by Salmon in his Review of the Hist. of England, p. 96. Prynne asserts, that the articles drawn up against Edward II. and Richard II. were not so much as read in parliament, and that

they were deposed, upon their own voluntary confessions only, in order to confirm their precedent resignations. Prynne's *Brief Memento* &c. p. 14. But the bishop himself, in a pamphlet attributed to him, which is opposed to Sherlock's *Letter to a Member of the Convention*, has made the like use of the deposition of both the kings. See Ralph's Hist. of England, vol. II. p. 23.)

illegal acts, it might be justly urged, that it was 1689.
 not reasonable on account of these to carry severities too far. But he had broken through the laws in many public and avowed instances: he had set up an open treaty with Rome: he had shaken the whole settlement of Ireland; and had put that island, and the English and protestants that were there, in the power of the Irish: the dispensing power took away not only those laws to which it was applied, but all other laws whatsoever, by the precedent it had set, and by the consequences that followed upon it: by the ecclesiastical commission he had invaded the liberty of the church, and subjected the clergy to mere will and pleasure: and all was concluded by his deserting his people, and flying to a foreign power, rather than stay and submit to the determinations of a free parliament. Upon all which it was inferred, that he had abdicated the government, and had left the throne vacant: which therefore ought now to be filled, that so the nation might be preserved, and the regal government continued in it. 813

As to the proposition for a prince regent, it was argued, that this was as much against monarchy, or rather more, than what they moved for. If a king's ill government did give the people a right in any case to take his power from him, and to lodge it with another, owning that the right to it remained still with him, this might have every whit as bad consequences as the other seemed to have: for recourse might be had to this violent remedy too often and too rashly. By this propo- And against a regency.

1689. sition of a regent, here were to be upon the matter two kings at the same time: one with the title, and another with the power of a king. This was both more illegal and more unsafe than the method they proposed. The law of England had settled the point of the subjects' security in obeying the king in possession, in the statute made by Henry the seventh. So every man knew he was safe under a king, and so would act with zeal and courage^h. But all such as should act under a prince regent, created by this convention, were upon a bottom that had not the necessary forms of law for it. All that was done by them would be thought null and void in law: so that no man could be safe that acted under it. If the oaths to king James were thought to be still binding, the subjects were by these not only bound to maintain his title to the crown, but all his prerogatives and powers. And therefore it seemed absurd to continue a government in his name, and to take oaths still to him, when yet all the power was taken out of his hands. This would be an odious thing, both before God and the whole world, and would cast a reproach on us at present, and bring certain ruin for the future on any such mixed and unnatural sort of government. Therefore, if the oaths were still binding, the nation was still bound by them, not by halves, but in their whole extent. It was said, that, if the government should be carried on in king James's name, but in other hands, the body of the nation would consider him as the person that was truly their king. And if

^h There is something in this argument. S.

any should plot or act for him, they could not be proceeded against for high treason, as conspiring against the king's person or government; when it would be visible, that they were only designing to preserve his person, and to restore him to his government. To proceed against any, or to take their lives for such practices, would be to add murder to perjury. And it was not to be supposed, that juries would find such men guilty of treason. In the weakness of infancy, a prince regent was in law the same person with the king, who had not yet a will: and it was to be presumed, the prince regent's will was the king's will. But that could not be applied to the present case; where the king and the regent must be presumed to be in a perpetual struggle, the one to recover his power, the other to preserve his authority. These things seemed to be so plainly made out in the debate, that it was generally thought that no man could resist such force of argument, but those who intended to bring back king James. And it was believed, that those of his party, who were looked on as men of conscience, had secret orders from him to act upon this pretence; since otherwise they offered to act clearly in contradiction to their own oaths and principlesⁱ.

ⁱ This is malice. S. (According to a contemporary apologist for the deprived bishops, they who adhered to the interests of king James were for a regency *pro tempore* only. "Why should not I tell the

" world the whole truth? In
 " short then, when some,
 " whom nothing would satisfy
 " but a crowned head, did on
 " purpose to spoil this expedient of a regency perplex
 " the motion, and clog it so

1689. But those who were for continuing the government, and only for changing the persons, were not at all of a mind. Some among them had very different views and ends from the rest. These intended to take advantage from the present conjuncture, to depress the crown, to render it as much precarious and elective as they could, and to raise the power of the people upon the ruin of monarchy. Among those, some went so far as to say, that the whole government was dissolved. But this appeared a bold and dangerous assertion: for that might have been carried so far, as to infer from it, that all men's properties, honours, rights, and franchises, were dissolved. Therefore, it was thought safer to say, that king James had dissolved the tie that was between him and the nation. Others avoided going into new speculations or schemes of government. They thought it was enough to say, that in extreme cases all obligations did cease; and that in our present circumstances the extremity of affairs, by reason of the late ill government, and by king James's flying over to the enemy of the nation, rather than submit to reasonable terms, had put the people of England on the necessity of securing themselves upon a legal bottom^k. It was said, that though

“ as to offer at a *regency for*
 “ *life*, as one to be supported
 “ against the rightful king,
 “ the party which stood up
 “ against the change of the
 “ government were as willing
 “ to be rid of such a regency,
 “ and let it fall, as the other
 “ party was earnest to vote

“ the throne vacant, and the
 “ filling it up again.” See
 p. 32. of a *Vindication of the*
late Archbishop Sancroft and
his Brethren, &c. in which the
 Apology is cited at large.)

^k This was the best reason.
 S. (From the commencement of their disputes, the

the vow of marriage was made for term of life, 1689.
and without conditions expressed, yet a breach in
the tie it self sets the innocent party at liberty. 815

So a king, who had his power both given him and defined by the law, and was bound to govern by law, when he set himself to break all laws, and in conclusion deserted his people, did, by so doing, set them at liberty to put themselves in a legal and safe state. There was no need of fearing ill consequences from this. Houses were pulled down or blown up in a fire: and yet men found themselves safe in their houses. In extreme dangers the common sense of mankind would justify extreme remedies; though there was no special provision that directed to them or allowed of them. Therefore, they said, a nation's securing it self against a king, who was subverting the government, did not expose monarchy, nor raise a popular authority, as some did tragically represent the matter.

There were also great disputes about the original contract: some denying there was any such thing, and asking where it was kept, and how it could be come at. To this others answered, that it was implied in a legal government: though in a long tract of time, and in dark ages, there was not such an explicit proof of it to be found. Yet many hints from law books and histories were brought to shew, that the nation had always submitted and obeyed, in consideration of their laws, which were still stipulated to them.

prince of Orange played his game so well, and the king his so ill, that at last the prince seemed to have the better even in argument.)

1689. There were also many debates on the word *abdicate*: for the commons came soon to a resolution, that king James, by breaking the original contract, and by withdrawing himself, had abdicated the government; and that the throne was thereby become vacant. They sent this vote to the lords, and prayed their concurrence. Upon which many debates and conferences arose. At last it came to a free conference, in which, according to the sense of the whole nation, the commons had clearly the advantage on their side¹. The lords had some more colour for opposing the word *abdicate*, since that was often taken in a sense that imported the full purpose and consent of him that abdicated; which could not be pretended in this case. But there were good authorities brought, by which it appeared, that when a person did a thing upon which his leaving any office ought to follow, he was said to abdicate. But this was a critical dispute^m: and it scarce became the greatness of that assembly, or the importance of the matterⁿ.

¹ See the debate at the free conference. It is printed by itself, (12mo. 1695,) and I think in one of the volumes of the State Trials. O.

^m I remember the king's having left the kingdom, without establishing a legal administration during his absence, was much insisted upon as a formal abdication. The earl of Pembroke said he thought that was no more than a man's running out of his house when on fire, or a seaman's throwing his goods

overboard in a storm, to save his life, which could never be understood as a renunciation of his house or goods. D.

ⁿ It was a very material point. S. (The following words, "And had a meanness in it, "because of the dubious sense "of it, and as it was used for "that reason," appear to have been a note by speaker Onslow, inserted by mistake in the text, as they are not found in the Autograph, the Transcript, or the first edition of the bishop's work.)

It was a more important debate, whether, sup- 1689.
 posing king James had abdicated, the throne could 816
 be declared vacant. It was urged, that, by the
 law, the king did never die; but that with the
 last breath of the dying king the regal authority
 went to the next heir^o. So it was said, that, sup-
 posing king James had abdicated, the throne was
 (*ipso facto*) filled in that instant by the next heir.
 This seemed to be proved by the heirs of the king
 being sworn to in the oath of allegiance; which
 oath was not only made personally to the king,
 but likewise to his heirs and successors. Those
 who insisted on the abdication said, that, if the
 king dissolved the tie between him and his sub-
 jects to himself, he dissolved their tie likewise to
 his posterity. An heir was one that came in the
 room of a person that was dead; it being a maxim
 that no man can be the heir of a living man^p. If
 therefore the king had fallen from his own right,
 as no heir of his could pretend to any inheritance
 from him, as long as he was alive, so they could
 succeed to nothing, but to that which was vested
 in him at the time of his death. And, as in the
 case of attainder, every right that a man was
 divested of before his death, was, as it were, anni-
 hilated in him; and by consequence could not
 pass to his heirs by his death, not being then in
 himself: so, if a king did set his people free from
 any tie to himself, they must be supposed to be
 put in a state in which they might secure them-
 selves; and therefore could not be bound to re-
 ceive one, who they had reason to believe would

^o This is certainly true. S.

^p This is sophistry. S.

1689. study to dissolve and revenge all they had done. If the principle of self preservation did justify a nation in securing it self from a violent invasion, and a total subversion, then it must have its full scope, to give a real, and not a seeming and fraudulent security. They did acknowledge, that upon the grounds of natural equity, and for securing the nation in after times, it was fit to go as near the lineal succession as might be: yet they could not yield that point, that they were strictly bound to it^q.

Some moved to examine the birth of the prince of Wales.

It was proposed, that the birth of the pretended prince might be examined into. Some pressed this, not so much from an opinion that they were bound to assert his right, if it should appear that he was born of the queen, as because they thought it would justify the nation, and more particularly the prince and the two princesses, if an imposture in that matter could have been proved. And it would have gone far to satisfy many of the weaker sort, as to all the proceeding against king James. Upon which I was ordered to gather together all the presumptive proofs that were formerly mentioned, which were all ready to have been made

^q (The able author of the *Continuation of Mackintosh's History of the Revolution*, after a review of the discussion between the lords and commons, observes, that "both parties had their reservations, and placed themselves in what is somewhat affectedly but very intelligibly called a false position. The high church and tory lords aban-

"doned more than they avowed of their professed doctrines. The whigs acted to a much greater extent than they avowed, upon the principle since called the sovereignty of the people. But the lords were, of the two, the more ingenuous and consistent in their principles and arguments." ch. xix. p. 613.)

out. It is true, these did not amount to a full and legal proof: yet they seemed to be such violent presumptions, that, when they were all laid together, they were more convincing than plain and downright evidence^r: for that was liable to the suspicion of subornation: whereas the other 817 seemed to carry on them very convincing characters of truth and certainty. But, when this matter was in private debated, some observed, that, as king James by going about to prove the truth of the birth, and yet doing it so defectively, had really made it more suspicious than it was before; so, if there was no clear and positive proof made of an imposture, the pretending to examine into it, and then the not being able to make it out beyond the possibility of contradiction, would really give more credit to the thing than it then had, and, instead of weakening it, would strengthen the pretension of his birth^s. 1689.

When this debate was proposed in the house of lords it was rejected with indignation. He was now sent out of England to be bred up in France^t, an enemy both to the nation and to the established religion: it was impossible for the people of England to know, whether he was the same person that had been carried over, or not: if he should

But it was rejected.

^r Well said, bishop. S.

^s Wisely done. S. (Leslie, in one of his tracts, observes, that they would not enter into the examination of the birth, because they knew the truth of it, and that no proof could be made out against it. The opposite party, he adds, had it

in their power, in case of an examination, to make the truth already clear, still clearer.)

^t (This was the best plea the convention had for setting him aside, professing, as it did, to keep, as far as was practicable, to the constitution.)

1689. die, another might be put in his room, in such a manner that the nation could not be assured concerning him: the English nation ought not to send into another country for witnesses to prove that he was their prince; much less receive one upon the testimony of such as were not only aliens, but ought to be presumed enemies: it was also known, that all the persons who had been the confidants in that matter were conveyed away: so it was impossible to come at them, by whose means only the truth of that birth could be found out^u. But while these things were fairly debated

^u (In conformity with this assertion, the bishop, in the preface to a volume of his Sermons, says, "The prince of Orange did by his declaration refer the inquiry into it (the birth) to a parliament. The king upon that did by his sending the pretender with the queen out of the kingdom, together with all those who were more immediately concerned in that supposed birth, make it impossible to examine into it." p. 10. On the above passage the author of *Speculum Sarisburiense*, a tract printed in 1714, before the bishop's death, makes the following remarks: "It is well known that king James, according to this prince's declaration, publicly offered to refer the examination of his son's birth to the convention, which was not accepted, his lordship can tell the reason why: and several deponents *more immediately*

concerned in the knowledge of that birth, not long after petitioned the same lords and gentlemen to be re-examined, in order to clear their own reputations from vile perjury, which had been objected to them. Perhaps, all those people were in France when they thus addressed, and king James would not suffer them to come. And I appeal to his lordship's own memory refreshed, whether in all his life, he is sure, he never acquiesced in certain signs and tokens of that person's birth." p. 97. "The unfortunate king," writes the Continuator of *Mackintosh's History of the Revolution*, "conscious of his innocence, offered to assist the investigation by sending over those witnesses of the birth of the child, who had accompanied him to France." ch. xviii. p. 589.)

by some, there were others who had deeper and darker designs in this matter. 1689.

They thought it would be a good security for the nation, to have a dormant title to the crown lie as it were neglected, to oblige our princes to govern well, while they would apprehend the danger of a revolt to a pretender still in their eye^y. Wildman thought, it was a deep piece of policy to let this lie in the dark, and undecided. Nor did they think it an ill precedent, that they should so neglect the right of succession, as not so much as to inquire into this matter. Upon all these considerations no further inquiry was made into it. It is true, this put a plausible objection in the mouth of all king James's party: here, they said, an infant was condemned, and denied his right, without either proof or inquiry. This still takes with many in the present age. And, that it may not take more in the next, I have used more than ordinary care to gather together all the particulars that were then laid before me as to that matter^z.

^y I think this was no ill design; yet it hath not succeeded in mending kings. S.

^z And where are they? S. (The bishop refers to what he has collected at pages 344—359. There is still existing an account, cited more than once in the preceding notes, of the testimony which Isabella lady Wentworth, one of the ladies of the bedchamber to king James's queen, gave in the year 1703 to Dr. Hickes, the former dean of Worcester,

at the lodgings of Mrs. Dawson in St. James's palace, who also had been of the bedchamber to the same queen. To her testimony respecting the birth of the prince of Wales, it is added by lady Wentworth, "that she had
" asserted the truth of his
" birth shortly after the revolution to Dr. Burnet, now
" bishop of Sarum, when she
" told the doctor, that she was
" as sure the prince of Wales
" was the queen's son, as that

1689.

Some were
for making
the prince
king.

818

The next thing in debate was, who should fill the throne. The marquis of Hallifax intended; by his zeal for the prince's interest, to atone for his backwardness in not coming early into it: and, that he might get before lord Danby, who was in great credit with the prince, he moved, that the crown should be given to the prince, and to the two princesses after him. Many of the republican party approved of this: for by it they gained another point: the people in this case would plainly elect a king, without any critical regard to the order of succession. How far the prince himself entertained this, I cannot tell. But I saw it made a great impression on Bentinck. He spoke of it to me, as asking my opinion about it, but so, that I plainly saw what was his own: for he gave me all the arguments that were offered for it; as that it was most natural that the sovereign power should be only in one person; that a man's wife ought only to be his wife; that it was a suitable return to the prince for what he had done for the nation; that a divided sovereignty was liable to great inconveniences; and, though there was less to be apprehended from the princess of any thing of that kind than from any woman alive, yet all

"any of her own children were hers; and when, out of zeal for the truth and honour of my mistress," said she, "I spake in such terms as modesty would scarce let me speak at another time." A copy of the original document, which was signed by lady Wentworth,

and attested by doctor Hickey and others, was for a long time in Magdalen college Oxford, but it belonged to the reverend Mr. Fortescue-Knottesford, of Alverly house near Stratford on Avon, to whom it was restored. Perhaps the original was never printed.)

mortals were frail, and might at some time or other of their lives be wrought on. 1689.

To all this I answered, with some vehemence, that this was a very ill return for the steps the princess had made to the prince three years ago: it would be thought both unjust and ungrateful: it would meet with great opposition, and give a general ill impression of the prince, as insatiable and jealous in his ambition: there was an ill humour already spreading it self through the nation and through the clergy: it was not necessary to increase this; which such a step as was now proposed would do out of measure: it would engage the one sex generally against the prince: and in time they might feel the effects of that very sensibly: and, for my own part, I should think my self bound to oppose it all I could, considering what had passed in Holland on that head. We talked over the whole thing for many hours, till it was pretty far in the morning. I saw he was well instructed in the argument: and he himself was possessed with it. So next morning I came to him, and desired my *congè*. I would oppose nothing in which the prince seemed to be concerned, as long as I was his servant. And therefore I desired to be disengaged, that I might be free to oppose this proposition with all the strength and credit I had. He answered me, that I might desire that when I saw a step made: but till then he wished me to stay where I was^a. I heard no more of this; in which the marquis of 819
Hallifax was single among the peers: for I did

^a Is all this true? S.

1689. not find there was any one of them of his mind ; unless it was the lord Culpepper, who was a vicious and corrupt man, but made a figure in the debates that were now in the house of lords, and died about the end of them^b. Some moved, that the princess of Orange might be put in the throne ; and that it might be left to her, to give the prince such a share either of dignity or power as she should propose, when she was declared queen. The agents of princess Anne began to go about, and to oppose any proposition for the prince to her prejudice. But she thought fit to disown them. Dr. Doughty, one of her chaplains, spoke to me in her name on the subject. But she said to myself, that she knew nothing of it.

The proposition, in which all that were for the filling the throne agreed at last, was, that both the prince and princess should be made conjunct sovereigns. But, for the preventing of any distractions, that the administration should be singly in the prince^c. The princess continued all the while in Holland, being shut in there, during the east winds, by the freezing of the rivers, and by contrary winds after the thaw came. So that she came not to England till all the debates were over^d. The prince's enemies gave it out, that she

^b Yet was not the same thing done in effect, while the king had the sole administration ? S. (William must have smiled at the zeal of his chaplain for the princess, who had been persuaded by him to wave any share in the government of the country.)

^c See the establishment made

on the marriage of Queen Mary with Philip of Spain. O.

^d Why was she (not) sent for till the matter was agreed ? This clearly shews the prince's original design was to be king, against what he professed in his declaration. S. (Compare note at p. 29.)

was kept there by order, on design that she might not come over to England to claim her right. So parties began to be formed, some for the prince, and others for the princess. Upon this the earl of Danby sent one over to the princess, and gave her an account of the present state of that debate: and desired to know her own sense of the matter; for, if she desired it, he did not doubt but he should be able to carry it for setting her alone on the throne. She made him a very sharp answer: she said, she was the prince's wife, and would never be other than what she should be in conjunction with him and under him; and that she would take it extreme unkindly, if any, under a pretence of their care of her, would set up a divided interest between her and the prince. And, not content with this, she sent both lord Danby's letter and her answer to the prince. Her sending it thus to him was the most effectual discouragement possible to any that might attempt for the future to create a misunderstanding or jealousy between them^e. The prince bore this

^e There was a great meeting at the earl of Devonshire's, where the dispute ran very high between lord Hallifax and lord Danby, one for the prince, the other for the princess: at last lord Hallifax said he thought it would be very proper to know the prince's own sentiments, and desired Fagel would speak, who defended himself a great while by saying he knew nothing of his mind upon that subject,

but if they would know his own, he believed the prince would not like to be his wife's gentleman usher; upon which lord Danby said he hoped they all knew enough now; for his part, he knew too much; and broke up the assembly, as sir M. Wharton, who was present, told me. D. (This note has been already published by sir John Dalrymple in the Appendix to his Memoirs, vol. II. p. 342. Macaulay in his His-

1689. with his usual phlegm : for he did not expostulate with the earl of Danby upon it, but continued still to employ and to trust him. And afterwards he advanced him, first to be a marquis, and then to be a duke.

820 During all these debates, and the great heat with which they were managed, the prince's own behaviour was very mysterious. He stayed at St. James's : he went little abroad : access to him was not very easy. He heard all that was said to him : but seldom made any answers. He did not affect to be affable, or popular : nor would he take any pains to gain any one person over to his party. He said, he came over, being invited, to save the nation : he had now brought together a free and true representative of the kingdom : he left it therefore to them to do what they thought best for the good of the kingdom : and, when things were once settled, he should be well satisfied to go back to Holland again^f. Those who did not know him well, and who imagined that a crown had charms which human nature was not strong enough to resist, looked on all this as an affecta-

The prince declared his mind after long silence.

tory of England, vol. II. p.642, remarks, that Fagel had died in Holland at the end of the preceding year, and supposes that the real person was Dykvelt, Bentink, or Zulestein, but most probably Dykvelt.)

^f Did he tell truth ? S. He seems to have acted right, considering the circumstances he was then in. If he was sincere in it, it was not only wise, but great. If he had

done otherwise, it would have hurt him, and brought him into many difficulties. He made a better judgment quite through this matter than any of the people about him. His natural temper might contribute to it. But with all his errors, he appears, in all times of his life, to have been by far the ablest man concerned in his affairs, or at that time in Europe. O.

tion, and as a disguised threatening, which im-
ported, that he would leave the nation to perish,
unless his method of settling it was followed.
After a reservedness, that had continued so close
for several weeks, that nobody could certainly tell
what he desired, he called for the marquis of
Hallifax, and the earls of Shrewsbury and Danby,
and some others, to explain himself more distinctly
to them.

He told them, he had been till then silent, be-
cause he would not say or do any thing that might
seem in any sort to take from any person the full
freedom of deliberating and voting in matters of
such importance : he was resolved neither to court
nor threaten any one : and therefore he had declined
to give out his own thoughts : some were for put-
ting the government in the hands of a regent : he
would say nothing against it, if it was thought the
best mean for settling their affairs : only he thought
it necessary to tell them, that he would not be the
regent : so, if they continued in that design, they
must look out for some other person to be put in
that post ^g : he himself saw what the consequences
of it were like to prove : so he would not accept
of it : others were for putting the princess singly
on the throne, and that he should reign by her
courtesy : he said, no man could esteem a woman
more than he did the princess : but he was so
made, that he could not think of holding any
thing by apron-strings : nor could he think it rea-
sonable to have any share in the government,
unless it was put in his person, and that for term

^g Was not this a plain confession of what he came for ? S.

1689. of life: if they did think it fit to settle it otherwise, he would not oppose them in it: but he would go back to Holland, and meddle no more in their affairs: he assured them, that whatsoever others might think of a crown, it was no such
 821 thing in his eyes, but that he could live very well, and be well pleased without it. In the end he said, that though he could not resolve to accept of a dignity, so as to hold it only for the life of another: yet he thought, that the issue of princess Anne should be preferred, in the succession, to any issue that he might have by any other wife than the princess^h. All this he delivered to them in so cold and unconcerned a manner, that those, who judged of others by the dispositions that they felt in themselves, looked on it all as artifice and contrivanceⁱ.

It was resolved to put the prince and princess both in the throne.

This was presently told about, as it was not intended to be kept secret. And it helped not a little to bring the debates at Westminster to a speedy determination. Some were still in doubt with relation to the princess. In some it was conscience: for they thought the equitable right was in her. Others might be moved by interest, since, if she should think herself wronged, and ill used in this matter, she, who was like to outlive

^h A great concession truly. S.

ⁱ The duke of Leeds told me the reasons that prevailed were the ill state of his health, from whence they concluded he could not last long; and that a man of courage was necessary for settling the go-

vernment at first; but the marquis of Hallifax told the prince he might be what he pleased himself, (the first night he came to St. James's;) for as nobody knew what to do with him, so nobody knew what to do without him. D.

the prince, being so much younger and healthier 1689.
than he was, might have it in her power to take
her revenges on all that should concur in such
a design. Upon this, I, who knew her sense of
the matter very perfectly by what had passed in
Holland, as was formerly told, was in a great
difficulty. I had promised her never to speak of
that matter, but by her order. But I presumed,
in such a case, I was to take orders from the
prince. So I asked him, what he would order
me to do. He said, he would give me no orders
in that matter, but left me to do as I pleased.
I looked on this as the allowing me to let the
princess's resolution in that be known; by which
many, who stood formerly in suspense, were fully
satisfied. Those to whom I gave the account of
that matter were indeed amazed at it; and con-
cluded, that the princess was either a very good
or a very weak woman. An indifferency for
power and rule seemed so extraordinary a thing,
that it was thought a certain character of an ex-
cess of goodness or simplicity. At her coming to
England, she not only justified me, but approved
of my publishing that matter; and spoke particu-
larly of it to her sister princess Anne. There
were other differences in the form of the settle-
ment. The republican party were at first for de-
posing king James by a formal sentence, and for
giving the crown to the prince and princess by as
formal an election. But that was overruled in
the beginning. I have not pursued the relation
of the debates according to the order in which
they passed, which will be found in the Journal

1689. of both houses during the convention^k. But
 having had a great share myself in the private
 managing of those debates, particularly with many
 of the clergy, and with the men of the most scru-
 822 pulous and tender consciences, I have given a
 very full account of all the reasonings on both
 sides, as that by which the reader may form and
 guide his own judgment of the whole affair. Many
 protestations passed in the house of lords in the
 progress of the debate. The party for a regency
 was for some time most prevailing: and then the
 protestations were made by the lords that were
 for the new settlement. The house was very full:
 about a hundred and twenty were present. And
 things were so near an equality, that it was at
 last carried by a very small majority, of two or
 three, to agree with the commons in voting the
 abdication, and the vacancy of the throne: against
 which a great protestation was made; as also
 against the final vote, by which the prince and
 princess of Orange were desired to accept of the
 crown, and declared to be king and queen; which
 went very hardly^l. The poor bishop of Durham,

^k The debates cannot be known from the Journals, yet I have seen my lord Somers's notes of those in the house of commons, and they agree with this author's account. O.

^l I stood behind the wool-sack, in the house of lords, when it was carried in a committee of the whole house, that the throne was not vacant, by king James's having abdicated the kingdom: but

it was retrieved next day in the house, by some lords being prevailed upon to absent themselves, from an apprehension that if they had insisted, it must have ended in a civil war. D. (See below, the conclusion of lord Dartmouth's note at page 464. col. i. As to the final vote, of which the bishop here speaks, it was carried by a majority of twenty voices, sixty-five against forty-

who had absconded for some time, and was waiting for a ship to get beyond sea, fearing public affronts, and had offered to compound by resigning his bishopric, was now prevailed on to come, and, by voting the new settlement, to merit at least a pardon for all that he had done : which, all things considered, was thought very indecent in him, yet not unbecoming the rest of his life and character.^m 1689.

five. And at their next session, the minority declined when solicited, as Echard in his *History of the Revolution*, pp. 260, 261, reports on the authority of the noble adviser himself, either to enter their protests against the measure, or to quit the house in consequence of its being adopted.)

^m This is too hard, though almost true. S. I have heard that he offered to resign his bishopric to this author, upon an assignation of one thousand per annum, but that he was diverted from it by his nephews, Mr. Sidney Wortley Mountague, and Mr. Charles Mountague, who were great friends to the new settlement, and brought him into it. He was always a very mean man in all respects, but had some court skill. One to whom he was great uncle told me, that by way of advice to him, he said, "Nephew, do as I did " when I began the world at " court. Stick firm to some " one great man there. If he " falls, fall with him, and

" when he rises, you are sure " to rise with him, to more " advantage than if you had " left him." The duke of York had been his patron, but now the bishop had got his preferment. O. (The truth of his offering to resign his bishopric is further ascertained by the account given by Burnet in the MS. copy of his own *Life* possessed by the university of Oxford. Lord Montague, in his Letter applying to king William to be created a duke, pleads his bringing the earl of Huntingdon, the bishop of Durham, and lord Ashley, to vote against the regency, and for William's having the crown, which, he says, was carried by those three voices and his own. See Appendix to Dalrymple's *Memoirs*, p. 340. The question had been carried before against a regency by a majority of two voices, fifty-one against forty-nine. In the minority were all the bishops, with the exception of Compton and Trelawney.

1689.

They drew
an instru-
ment about
it.

But, before matters were brought to a full conclusion, an enumeration was made of the chief heads of king James's ill government. And in opposition to these, the rights and liberties of the people of England were stated. Some officious people studied to hinder this at that time. They thought they had already lost three weeks in their debates: and the doing this, with the exactness that was necessary, would take up more time: or it would be done too much in a hurry, for matters of so nice a nature. And therefore it was moved, that this should be done more at leisure after the settlementⁿ. But that was not hearkened to. It was therefore thought necessary to frame this instrument so, that it should be like a new Magna Charta. In the stating these grievances and rights, the dispensing power came to be discussed. And then the power of the crown to grant a *non-obstante* to some statutes was objected^o. Upon opening this, the debate was found to be so intricate, that it was let fall at that time only for despatch. But afterwards an act passed condemning it simply. And the power of granting a *non-obstante* was for the future taken away^p. Yet

ⁿ (After citing these passages of Burnet's History the Continuator of Mackintosh's observes, that "the tories were " foremost in exposing these " flimsy pretences, and urging, " that the first object in the " order of time, of importance " and of public duty, was to " guard the public liberties, " whoever should be king." ch. xix. p. 621, where the

parliamentary history is referred to.)

^o Yet the words continue in patents. S.

^p It is in a clause of the act, declaring the rights and liberties of the subject, &c. 1 Gul. et Mariæ, Sess. 2. cap. 2. See Journal of the House of Commons, 7th, 8th, 11th, 12th Feb. 1688.—25th of Nov. 1689. O.

king James's party took great advantage from this; and said, that, though the main clamour of the nation was against the dispensing power, yet when the convention brought things to a settlement, that did not appear to be so clear a point as had been pretended: and it was not so much as mentioned in this instrument of government: so that, by the confession of his enemies, it appeared to be no unlawful power: nor was it declared contrary to the liberties of the people of England^q. Whereas, its not being mentioned then was only upon the opposition that was made, 1689. ——— 823

^q But see the declaration and the Journal of the House of Commons as mentioned in the former page, and observe the *distinctions*. Compare the whole with the bill of rights especially as to this important point of the dispensing power. O. But a very irregular use of it. For granting there is such a trust lodged with the crown, it will not follow from thence, that the king may dispense with all the laws at his pleasure. The case of ship-money was founded upon an undeniable truth, that when the whole is at stake, the chief magistrate may and ought to do every thing that can contribute to the preservation of the society, though never so prejudicial to any of the particulars. Queen Elizabeth did many things in the year eighty-eight, that could not have been justified by the ordinary forms of law; but the danger was imminent and apparent, there-

fore no man ever complained of hardships upon that occasion. But there are many powers vested in the crown, the abuse of which would overturn the whole frame of government. The king has an undoubted right to call whom he pleases to the house of lords: but the calling all the people of England would be a very ridiculous, though a very sure way, to destroy the rest of the constitution all at once: as the excusing every man from being of a jury (which the king may do by law) would be of the whole administration of justice in the kingdom; but there must always be understood to be powers trusted with the crown for the benefit of the people: and the king's being judge of the necessity does not hinder the community from judging whether they are executed to their prejudice or advantage. D.

1689. that so more time might not be lost, nor this instrument be clogged with disputable points^r.

The oaths
were al-
tered.

The last debate was concerning the oaths that should be taken to the king and queen. Many arguments were taken during the debate from the oaths in the form in which the allegiance was sworn to the crown, to shew that in a new settlement these could not be taken. And to this it was always answered, that care should be taken, when other things were settled, to adjust these oaths, so that they should agree to the new settlement. In the oaths, as they were formerly con-

^r (According to Macpherson and others, "when the "lower house hesitated to accede to the vote of the lords, "till the claims and demands "of the subject were known, "the prince became apparently uneasy. He sent to "the leaders of the commons, "to acquaint them, that if the "convention insisted upon "new limitations, he would "leave them to the mercy of "James." *History of Great Britain*, vol. I. p. 567. It is certain, as Ralph in his *History*, vol. II. page 53, observes, that it was resolved, that all such heads of the declaration of rights as were introductory of new laws should be omitted. As the declaration of rights made before William's acceptance of the crown is drawn, it neither alters nor pretends to alter the constitution of England. The theory of this constitution has been justly praised as a happy combination of the three forms of govern-

ment, monarchy, aristocracy, and democracy. But we have been lately called on for our gratitude to the long parliament, to the convention, and to William of Orange, for a constitution in which it is observed, that the popular element has developed itself freely and become dominant. The first of these founders abolished kingly power, and shut up the house of lords; the second made no alterations, change of kings and the regal succession excepted; and the third before he came to the crown, argued against a suspension of some considerable prerogatives from the unlikelihood of their being restored; and afterwards, when placed at the head of the government, frequently lamented that he had ever any thing to do with it. Still the dominant democracy may justly claim kindred with the principles and practices of those times.)

ceived, a previous title seemed to be asserted, 1689.
 when the king was sworn to, *as rightful and lawful king*. It was therefore said, that these words could not be said of a king who had not a precedent right, but was set up by the nation. So it was moved, that the oaths should be reduced to the ancient simplicity, of swearing to bear faith and true allegiance to the king and queen. This was agreed to. And upon this began the notion of a king *de facto*, but not *de jure*^s. It was said, that according to the common law, as well as the statute in king Henry the seventh's reign, the subjects might securely obey any king that was in possession, whether his title was good or not. This seemed to be a doctrine necessary for the peace and quiet of mankind, that so the subjects may be safe in every government, that bringeth them under a superior force, and that will crush them, if they do not give a security for the protection that they enjoy under it. The lawyers had been always of that opinion, that the people were not bound to examine the titles of their princes, but were to submit to him that was in possession^t. It was therefore judged just and

^s ("The distinction of a king *de jure* and a king *de facto*" (writes Mr. Clerke in his *Vestigia Anglicana*, Dissert. X. p. 309.) "was well understood in the reign of Edward the fourth. He confirmed all the acts of his predecessors as kings *en fait et nient en droit*. The first mention of this well known distinction.")

^t (This is the argument used by sir Isaac Newton to persuade his constituents the university of Cambridge, notwithstanding the former oath, to take the new one of allegiance. See the first of the thirteen Letters from sir Isaac Newton to Dr. Covell, lately printed under the direction of their possessor Mr. Dawson Turner.)

1689. reasonable, in the beginning of a new government, to make the oaths as general and comprehensive as might be: for it was thought, that those who once took the oaths to the government would be after that faithful and true to it. This tenderness, which was shewed at this time to a sort of people that had shewed very little tenderness to men of weak or ill informed consciences, was afterwards much abused by a new explanation, or rather a gross equivocation, as to the signification of the words in which the oath was conceived. The true meaning of the words, and the express sense of the imposers, was, that, whether men

824 were satisfied or not with the putting the king and queen on the throne, yet, now they were on it, they would be true to them, and obey, and defend them. But the sense that many put on them was, that they were only to obey them as usurpers, during their usurpation, and that therefore, as long as they continued in quiet possession, they were bound to bear them and to submit to them: but they thought that it was still lawful for them to assist king James, if he should come to recover his crown, and that they might act and talk all they could, or durst, in his favour, as being still their king *de jure*. This was contrary to the plain meaning of the words, *faith, and true allegiance*; and was contrary to the express declaration in the act that enjoined them. Yet it became too visible, that many in the nation, and particularly among the clergy, took the oath in this sense, to the great reproach of their profession. The prevarication of too many in so sacred

The ill sense that was put on the new oath.

a matter contributed not a little to fortify the growing atheism of the present age. The truth was, the greatest part of the clergy had entangled themselves so far with those strange conceits of the divine right of monarchy, and the unlawfulness of resistance in any case^u. And they had so engaged themselves, by asserting these things so often and so publicly, that they did not know how to disengage themselves in honour or conscience. 1689.

A notion was started, which by its agreement with their other principles had a great effect among them, and brought off the greatest number of those who came in honestly to the new government. This was chiefly managed by Dr. Lloyd, bishop of St. Asaph, now translated to Worcester. It was laid thus: the prince had a just cause of making war on the king. In that most of them agreed. In a just war, in which an appeal is made to God, success is considered as the decision of Heaven. So the prince's success against king James gave him the right of conquest over him. And by it all his rights were transferred to the

^u In all the disputes between the houses of York and Lancaster, legal right was much insisted upon, divine not so much as thought of, which was a notion started in king James the first's reign, by a set of flattering clergymen: there being others in those days that made a doubt of the king's legal title; his mother (from whom he claimed) having been executed for treason, and the last will of Henry the eighth had excluded the Scotch

line; which will was made by the authority of an act of parliament that was never repealed. Besides, king James's being an alien born, was thought by some to be an exclusion by the common law. D. (Hereditary right was formerly esteemed legal or constitutional right, and obtained the crown for Edward the fourth and James the first. As to Henry the eighth's last will consult Lingard's *History of England*, vol. V. p. 213.)

1689. prince. His success was indeed no conquest of the nation; which had neither wronged him nor resisted him. So that, with relation to the people of England, the prince was no conqueror, but a preserver and a deliverer, well received and gratefully acknowledged. Yet with relation to king James, and all the right that was before vested in him, he was, as they thought, a conqueror^x. By

^x The author wrote a paper to prove this, and it was burnt by the hangman, and is a very foolish scheme. S. Bishop Burnet wrote a pamphlet to encourage this distinction, which had frequently been made before in relation to William the conqueror, and Harold, but the house of commons ordered it to be burnt at Westminster-hall gate. The earl of Nottingham had better success with a declaration he made, that though the kingdom had not been conquered, he looked upon himself to be so, having made all the resistance that lay in his power to his being king, but had been overcome: which doctrine was so well received at court, that he was made secretary of state, notwithstanding the vigorous opposition he had made in the house of lords. But lord Weymouth told me, he prevailed with him and some more to stay away, that the other side might carry the question; for fear of a civil war, if they had lost it. D. A false and dangerous notion, and most justly condemned. The prince of

Orange came over by invitation from the body of the nation, expressed or implied; had no other right to do it, and whatever was done against king James, and for the prince and princess of Orange, was, in fact, (and could have had no other foundation of justice,) done in virtue only of the rights of the people. No act of a king of this country, be the act what it will, can transfer or be the cause of transferring the crown to any other person, no not even to the heir apparent, without the consent of the people, properly given. The interest of government is theirs. Sovereigns are the trustees of it, and can forfeit only to those who have entrusted them; nor can conquest of itself give any right to government: there must be a subsequent acquiescence, or composition, on the part of the people for it, and that implies compact. If this be so with regard to the conquest of a whole nation, it is more strongly that, when the conquest is over the king only of a country, and the

this notion they explained those passages of scripture that speak of God's disposing of kingdoms, and of pulling down one and setting up another; and also our Saviour's arguing from the inscription on the coin, that they ought to render to Cæsar the things that were Cæsar's; and St. Paul's charging the Romans to obey the powers that then were, who were the emperors that were originally 825 the invaders of public liberty which they had subdued, and had forced the people and senate of Rome by subsequent acts to confirm an authority that was so ill begun. This might have been made use of more justly, if the prince had assumed the kingship to himself, upon king James's withdrawing; but did not seem to belong to the present case. Yet this had the most universal effect on the far greater part of the clergy.

And now I have stated all the most material parts of these debates, with the fulness that I thought became one of the most important transactions that is in our whole history, and by much the most important of our time.

All things were now made ready for filling the throne. And the very night before it was to be done, the princess arrived safely. It had been

1689.

war not against the kingdom. O. (The book ordered to be burnt was one of the bishop's pastoral letters. Antony Wood, in his Diary, p. 368, says, that Lloyd's book, entitled, "God's way of disposing of Kingdoms," was proposed to be burnt, but that it was carried in the negative in the house

of peers by eleven votes.)

Y (Whatever were their reasons, in the two provinces twelve of the twenty ante-revolution bishops, who were living at the time of filling up the vacant sees, took the oaths to the new government. Croft bishop of Hereford appears to have died just before.)

The princess came to England.

1689. given out, that she was not well pleased with the late transaction, both with relation to her father, and to the present settlement. Upon which the prince wrote to her, that it was necessary she should appear at first so cheerful, that nobody might be discouraged by her looks, or be led to apprehend that she was uneasy by reason of what had been done. This made her put on a great air of gaiety when she came to Whitehall, and, as may be imagined, had great crowds of all sorts coming to wait on her. I confess, I was one of those that censured this in my thoughts. I thought a little more seriousness had done as well, when she came into her father's palace, and was to be set on his throne next day. I had never seen the least indecency in any part of her deportment before: which made this appear to me so extraordinary, that some days after I took the liberty to ask her, how it came that what she saw in so sad a revolution, as to her father's person, made not a greater impression on her. She took this freedom with her usual goodness. And she assured me, she felt the sense of it very lively upon her thoughts. But she told me, that the letters which had been writ to her had obliged her to put on a cheerfulness, in which she might perhaps go too far, because she was obeying directions, and acting a part which was not very natural to her^z.

^z That she put on more airs of gaiety upon that occasion than became her, or seemed natural, I was an eyewitness to, having seen her upon her first arrival at Whitehall: but

that she behaved in the ridiculous indecent manner the duchess of Marlborough has represented, I do as little believe, as that her grace (which she would insinuate) had any

This was on the 12th of February, being Shrove-Tuesday. The thirteenth was the day set for the 1689.

share in making the countess of Derby groom of the stole, which was entirely owing to her being the duke of Ormond's sister, and Mr. Overquerque's niece; without any recommendation from the princess of Denmark, which could not have been obtained without lady Churchill's interposition at that time, that was neither wanted or desired. Her grace, out of abundant good will to the countess of Derby, has produced her accounts, to shew how much they exceeded her own, which may easily be accounted for, that queen being of a very generous temper, and was continually presenting the ladies and their children, that were about her, with things of considerable value. Therefore the great articles are to jewellers, goldsmiths, and East India shops, which her grace took care there should be no call for, during her administration: but has confessed the mean begging of eighteen thousand pounds, after the immense wealth she and her family had extorted from the public during her favour with queen Ann. D. (Evelyn in his Diary mentions the behaviour of the new queen on the above occasion as very unbecoming. vol. II. p. 6. See also Miss Strickland's *Lives of the Queens of England*, vol. IX. p. 4—7, who is dissatisfied

with Burnet's solution. Still let us hope that the bishop assigns the true cause of Mary's behaviour. "The truth of the matter was this," writes the sensible author of a *Review of an Account of the Duchess of Marlborough's Conduct*, 8vo. 1742, p. 20; "while the confusions continued in England, and the king's life was daily in imminent danger, the princess, then in Holland, shewed deep concern; and this being reported in England, produced an opinion that she was much dissatisfied with all that had been done. This coming to the ears of the prince of Orange, he thought fit to write her a letter, enjoining her to appear so cheerful at her first coming over, that nobody might be discouraged by her looks. And thus obedience to her husband subjected this excellent lady to a suspicion of want of tenderness for her father; which is the less credible, since I am well assured that there never was a fonder parent than he, both to her and to her sister, insomuch that Mr. Oldmixon is pleased to observe, that on the flight of the princess of Denmark, the king burst into tears, and could not help crying out, 'God help me, my own children have forsaken me!' He was less able to bear as

1689. two houses to come with the offer of the crown.

So here ends the *interregnum*.

And thus I have given the fullest and most particular account that I could gather of all that passed during this weak, unactive, violent, and superstitious reign; in which all regard to the affairs of Europe seemed to be laid aside, and nothing was thought on but the spiteful humours of
826 a revengeful Italian lady, and the ill laid, and worse managed, projects of some hot meddling priests, whose learning and politics were of a piece, the one exposing them to contempt, and the other to ruin; involving in it a prince, who, if it had not been for his being delivered up to such counsels, might have made a better figure in history. But they managed both themselves and him so ill, that a reign, whose rise was bright and prosperous, was soon set in darkness and disgrace. But I break off here, lest I should seem to aggravate misfortunes, and load the unfortunate too much.

“ a father, than as a prince.”

The princess was addressed in the following terms by the queen her mother-in-law, in a letter dated about five weeks before the arrival of the prince in England.—“ The second “ part of this news” (of the intended expedition) “ I will “ never believe, that is, that “ you are to come over with “ him; for I know you to be

“ too good, that I don’t be-
“ lieve you could have such a
“ thought against the worst of
“ fathers, much less perform
“ it against the best, that has
“ always been kind to you,
“ and I believe has loved you
“ better than all the rest of
“ his children.” Sir Henry
Ellis’s First Series of Original
Letters, vol. III. p. 349.)

THE END.

APPENDIX.



APPENDIX.

A Relation of the Departure of the Queen and the Prince of Wales into France in December, 1688. From a contemporary Letter.

Lyons, December 31, 1688.

At length we have the queen of England and prince of Wales in France, arrived with only Donna Victoria Davia and the nurse. The stroke was as fine as it was bold. The king wished lord Dartmouth to have the glory of it, but he from fear or other causes refused. Monsieur Lauzun was in the king's confidence, and he, who was only seeking to perform some deed of glory, charged himself with this extremely difficult in appearance, and in fact most perilous one. First then, he assured himself of two French cavaliers of good courage, whom however he never let into the secret, since they had been sent over by that court only to obey his orders, and when the time seemed fit, he said to the king one day in public, "Sire, as I find I am unable to render your majesty any service, would your majesty grant me a passport to return to France in one of your yachts," to which the king assented, and asked him if he was going alone, and he answered, that the ladies of some French officers had applied to go with him, and so took leave of the king, who granted him every thing in case he wished to start at that hour, to be all ready, without even the queen knowing any thing about it.

One night at two o'clock after midnight, Monsieur de Lauzun having gone up to the king's apartment by a little staircase, which the king had confided to him, told him all was ready. He immediately made the queen get up, whose alarms he quieted as soon as she learnt that she was to take her son with her. Dressing themselves then as private ladies, they took with them the

two men, who conducted them on foot for a mile to where a servant was in waiting for them with a hired coach and six, which they got into and went to a place, where at a poor woman's was the nurse with the prince of Wales concealed there ever since the king made a show of having him conveyed with a numerous retinue to Portsmouth; and all getting into the carriage they drove to the Thames, where embarking on the yacht they set sail very prosperously, without the captain or any one else knowing the rank of the ladies; and Monsieur de Lauzun well armed kept close to the captain all the time, determined to kill him in case of his suspecting any thing and wishing to thwart his design. On arriving at Calais Monsieur de Lauzun then confided to the two cavaliers, who these ladies were, who had disembarked much indisposed from the passage. He himself, pretending only to have come to accompany them, ordered the captain to take him back to where he had brought him from. Carriages were immediately despatched from Paris to take them, with others of the catholic nobility who were there, and Vincennes was ordered to be got ready for their residence.

The king of England said to Monsieur de Lauzun that if the queen and her son could but reach France, there was nothing he would not give. There are sad news this morning, to the effect that the prince of Orange had at length entered London with the acclamations of all the people, and had caused the nuncio to be imprisoned, and the king had fled, it was not known whither.

We were favoured with this translation of the Italian Original by an elegant scholar, the reverend Dr. Wellesley, principal of New Inn Hall. No material difference is to be found in the Letter from the interesting account of Lauzun and the queen's departure in Macaulay's History of England, II. 9. p. 147, except in the strange misapprehension of the writer of the Letter, that the prince had been conveyed to and concealed with his nurse at a poor woman's, instead of having been brought again from Portsmouth to Whitehall.

Original Letter.

Lione, 31 Xbre, 1688.

Finalmente habbiamo in Francia la Regina d' Inghilterra col Principe di Galles venuti con la sola Donna Vittoria Davia e la Nutrice. Il colpo è altrettanto bello quanto ardito. Il Rè voleva, che il Milord d' Armut ne havesse la gloria, ma questo per timor, o altro rifiutò d' esser. Il Sig. Lauson hebbe la confidenza del Rè, et esso che non cercava che fare qualche attione gloriosa, si caricò di questa in apparenza scabrosa molto, et in effetto pericolosissima. S'assicurò dunque prima di due Cavalieri Francesi provisti di buon coraggio, a' quali però mai confidò il secreto, poichè erano stati mandati da quella corte solo per obedirlo in che havesse comandato, e quando li parve il tempo opportuno, disse à quel Rè un giorno in publico. Sire già che mi trovo incapace di renderle alcun servizio vuole V. M. ben accordarmi un Passaporto per ritornarmene in Francia con uno de' suoi Jachit, al che il Rè consentì, e li domandò se partiva solo, et egli rispose, che certe Dame d' Ufficiali Francesi li havevano dimandato di partir seco, con che si licentiò dal Rè, che li accordò il tutto, e s' altro per partir à quell' hora li fosse piaciuto il tutto pronto, senza che nemen la Regina ne sapesse cos alcuna.

Una sera à 2 hore doppo mezza notte montato il Sig. di Lauson nella Stanza del Rè per una piccola scala, che il Rè gli haveva confidato, li disse, che il tutto era pronto, esso fece subito levare la Regina, quale atterrita riconsolò quando seppe, che dovea seco portare il figlio, vestitesi dunque in Donne private, si accompagnarono con li due huomini, che le condussero a piedi per un miglio sin la dove il servo le aspettava con una Carozza à sei da nolo, sopra quale salite andorno in un luogo, ove in casa d' una povera Donna si ritrovava la nutrice col Principe di Galles ivi ritirata sin quando il Rè fece

mostra d' haverlo con grande accompagnamento fatto asportare à Port Mout, e messisi tutti nella Carozza andorno al Tamigi, ove montati sopra il Jachet fecero vela con assai buon successo, senza che il Capitano, o altra persona sapesse la conditione delle Donne, et il Sig. di Lauson ben armato si tenne sempre a canto del Capitano, risoluto d' ucciderlo, se col dubbio di qualche cosa havebbe voluto rompere il suo disegno, giunto à Cales all' hora il Sig. Lauson confidò alli due Cavalieri, chi erano le Dame sbarcate assai travagliate dal mare, esso prendendo pretesto, che era venuto solo per accompagnarle ordinò al Capitano di ricondurlo la dove l' haveva preso.

Subito da Parigi si spedirono Carozze per levarle con altra nobiltà Cattolica, che colà si trovava, e se gli facesse preparare Vincenes per lor dimora.

Il Rè d' Inghilterra disse al Sig. di Lauson che se la Regina col figlio poteva giungere in Francia, subito darebbe tutto per il tutto.

Le infelici nove di questa mattina portano, che il Principe d' Oranges era finalmente entrato in Londra con applauso di tutto il Popolo, et haveva fatto imprigionare il Nuntio, et il Rè se n' era fugito senza sapersi dove.

An Account of the Autograph of Burnet's History of his own Time, in the possession of the University.

It is perhaps not generally known, that the university of Oxford is in possession of the Autograph of bishop Burnet's History of his own Time, comprised in three folio volumes. This manuscript and a Transcript of the work belonged very lately to a family descended from the bishop, and were purchased by the Curators of the Bodleian Library in the year 1835 together with a

large collection of Letters and other Documents illustrating the author's life and writings. They had been the property of his son judge Burnet, who in the second volume of the first edition of his father's work promised, what circumstances hindered his performing, to deposit the original manuscript in the Cotton Library.

The bishop's Autograph now possessed by the university was written in 1703 and the subsequent years, revised by the author in 1711, and completed by him in 1713, about two years before his death. In it are found those Passages undeleted, which occasioned so much angry and very long protracted discussion in consequence of their omission in the first edition, and which were restored by us after the lapse of a century in the year 1823. Only three of them are partially deleted. Still the first editor, who deserves praise for his continued attention to his father's work, seems to have had more authority, than it was supposed, for omitting some of these passages. For in the Transcript above mentioned of this History they are not all of them inserted; and of the others not all are marked for deletion, but only a very few, probably so marked by the author and not by the editor, who to exculpate himself would have deleted all. In his last will the bishop mentions a Copy of his work, which he desires may previously to its publication be compared with his Autograph, having, he adds, "made several amendments, deletions, and additions in both of them." Mention too is made in the Advertisement prefixed to the former volume of the first edition of "a copy corrected and interlined in many places with the author's own hand." But that the copy possessed by the university is not the copy referred to by the bishop himself appears from a direction in his handwriting given in the Autograph, 'to take in' an additional passage in the margin of the copy at such a page, which is not found at that page of the university copy, but is embodied there at a different page in the text. This Transcript, much altered from

the Autograph in point of expression, and approaching nearer to the edited work, seems to have been made subsequently to the Autograph and the Copy mentioned by the bishop.

It was therefore thought proper to admit into the text those Suppressed Passages only which are acknowledged both by the Autograph and Transcript. And although the variations from the first edition are very numerous in them both, in the Autograph amounting to eleven hundred, and in the Transcript to above four hundred, in the space only of this reign, yet as they are most of them unimportant and principally owing to a correction of the phrase or style, those passages only have been restored, in which the meaning was affected by the alteration. A List of them has been subjoined. The recovery of the Autograph has enabled us to infer from the time in which it was revised and completed, not long before the author's death, that the several collections of papers in the British Museum, written in various hands and at different times, contain, as sir Henry Ellis originally suggested to us, what the author had formerly penned, and afterwards thought proper to omit or alter. Some part of these papers appear to have been written before the author's return to England in 1688, for he began to compose his History in the year 1684, according to his relation at the end of the first volume of the Autograph. As to the Copy mentioned by him in his will, the settlement of the question about the Suppressed Passages is chiefly concerned in its reappearance.

WE have lately been favoured with a Transcript of the First day's proceedings of the lords, who met on the king's departure without any previous notice, on the eleventh of December, 1688, by the Reverend Sir John Miller, Bart., of Knowles, in Sussex. The Manuscript in his possession was handed down to him from the Gwynne family, of Forde Abbey, Devonshire, and contains minutes made by Francis Gwynne, Esquire, their secretary, of the proceedings from the eleventh to the twenty-eighth of December inclusively. On the cover of the book, which, according to a statement inserted in the first vol. of *Notes and Queries*, page 40, is a small folio, of which not above fifty pages are filled, it is written, that the king withdrew himself on December the 11th, at about one of the clock in the morning. The names of the twenty-nine lords, who met, are set down, and may be found in Kennet's *Complete Hist. of England*, vol. III. p. 533. In addition to the orders more generally known to have been given, their lordships dispatched one to the earl of Feversham, "commander of the king's forces, which was immediately signed by them and delivered to Mr. Blathwayt, who undertook to give it into my lord Feversham's owne hand with all speed.

Whereas his Majesty hath this morning privately withdrawne himselfe, wee the Lords Spirituall and Temporall, whose names are subscribed, considering the Prince of Orange hath declared his intentions to lead his army to this Citty of London, and that severall of the fforces under your comand are in his way hither, whereby the effusion of blood may ensue, wee doe therefore require you to give such necessary orders either for the removall of the said troops to some distant quarters, or otherwise as your Lord^{pp} shall thinke fitt, for preventing any hostility in this juncture. Tuesday, 11 December, 1688, att 12 of the Clock, Guildhall, London. *To the Rt. Honble the Earle of Ffeversham, Lt. Genll. of the fforces, or to the Comandr. in cheife in his absence.*

Their lordships sent orders to my Lord Dartmouth to prevent any acts of hostility between the prince of Orange's fleet and that under his command, and likewise to remove all popish officers out of their respective commands, delivered to Mr. Pepys to transmitt the same. It was moved that orders be sent to the Forts on the river, to stop all passengers, but nothing was done in it. Likewise to the governor of Tilbury, to disarme the papists, but nothing done in it. The Earl of Rochester acquaints the lords that Sir Robert Sawyer informs him the catholicks are got together in armes about Hownslow. Orders now sent to Lieut^s Gen^{ls} of the army to disarme all Roman catholicks. Their lordships judging it necessary to make a Declaration of the cause of their meeting appointed the Earl of Rochester, Lord Weymouth, Lord Bishops of Ely and Rochester to prepare such a declaration, and their lordships withdrew in order thereunto. Lord Preston" who with the other secretary of state, lord Middleton, had been written to, to attend their lordships, "attended and was asked by their lordships if the king had left any orders with him before his going away. His lordship answered that he had not seen his majesty since seven o'clock the night before. Being asked concerning the great seal, answered he knew nothing of it. The earl of Middleton was not at home. Mr. Cooper acquainting their Lordships that he saw several backs and brests on board a lighter from the Earl of Salisbury's house, the sheriff of London was desired to seize them. The common sergeant returns their lordships thanks from the Lord Mayor and court of aldermen for their appointing the lord Lucas governor of the Tower. The Earl of Rochester and lords committee appointed to draw up the Declaration, returned, and the draft read first altogether, afterwards paragraph by paragraph. Lord Wharton moves it may againe be read altogether, which was done, and afterwards paragraph by paragraph. The first paragraph agreed to. The paragraph con-

cerning the king, read; Lord Wharton, Lord Montague, Lord Newport, and Lord Culpeper, moved it might be left out." It should seem, that the omitted paragraph was too favourable to the king to please these lords; the first of whom, Lord Wharton, had fought, but with little bravery, against the king's father at Edge Hill. "The words, *The Established Government*, added in the paragraph before; and after these, and some other amendments Ordered to be written fair for their lordships signing, which was done and signed." A copy of this Declaration appears in Kennet's Complete History, above cited, and in D'Oily's Life of Archbishop Sancroft, Vol. I. p. 392, in which it is stated, on the authority of *Kettlewell's Life*, p. 187, that some warm debates took place on the occasion.

Bishop Burnet was, it appears, always to be vindicated in his account, at p. 399, of the archbishop's concurrence with the lords in their invitation to the prince of Orange, from the censure of Ralph the historian, founded on the circumstance of his not being present when the commissioners were sent with the Declaration to the prince; which order, according to Kennet, was made on the first day. But the Declaration, in which the prince was invited, was signed by all. The archbishop seems to have retired before the close of the day, as there is, we hear, an entry in the Manuscript on the first day without his signature; he never attended afterwards. There was, however, no inconsistency between this invitation and his subsequent refusal to transfer his allegiance from the king to the prince of Orange. He had not invited the prince to England, but now applied to him on the king's suddenly absenting himself, to protect in this exigence the lives and property of the people during a limited period, till the meeting of a parliament called by the king, who some time after this left the kingdom, but with the declared intention of returning.

A List of Variations from the First Edition of Burnet's History adopted in this Edition from the author's Autograph and a Transcript of his work.

<i>Present Edition.</i>	<i>First Edition.</i>
P. lln.	
12. 2 from the bottom. on an equally	in an equally
13. 18. earl of Galway	earl of Galloway
15. 8. after for, as she was naturally bold and insolent	<i>omitted</i>
15. 16. so the news	at last the news
16. 1. of the declarations	of <i>omitted</i>
22. 13. then in great danger	then <i>omitted</i>
23. 16. assist at	assist in
21. as a sin	as unlawful
24. 9 from the bottom. Mr. Hamden	Mrs. Hamden. <i>So also the Transcript. Obscure in the Autograph.</i>
30. 1. in his spiteful enthusiastical way.	spiteful <i>omitted</i>
31. 7. I should have been	I might have been
33. 21. on the receipt	or the receipt
34. 12 from the bottom. what follows the word <i>before</i> <i>omitted</i> .	before, of which mention was made
38. 5 from the bottom. so instrumental	so <i>omitted</i>
52. 19. a cudgel	a cane
58. 18. she seemed not to have any of that tenderness left that became her sex, and his present circumstances	<i>omitted</i>
65. 3. Some particulars relating to that matter are too indecent to be mentioned by me.	<i>omitted</i>
67. 7. from the bottom, who had harboured them.	had <i>omitted</i>
75. 4. fiercest of the Tories	fairest for fiercest
76. 2. all people	all the people
18. from it.	from popery
77. 12. his brother's two papers found in his strong box.	the two papers found in his brother's strong box.
80. 8. continued long	long <i>omitted</i>
81. last line. their ill designs.	ill <i>omitted</i>

Present Edition.

P. lin.

96. 13. he would make war
 21. so many
 102. 13. in particular concerning
 118. 16. and dean of Norwich
 119. 4. for any
 122. 16. He was in all respects an ignorant,
 worthless, vain and abject man, without any
 one good quality.
 124. 11. as much as may be.
 124. 17. but which was only
 125. 4. with whom he had lived in a scandal-
 ous manner for several years.
 136. last line. but
 137. 6 from the bottom. for
 143. 12. I spread many notions among some
 of the younger sort, inclining them to more
 latitude in point of opinion, and a greater
 strictness in their lives and labours, which
 I have found since have not been without
 good effects.
 144. 5. of any I ever saw
 155. 19. try his patience
 173. 2. as she was by law established
 187. 7 from the bottom. still more past recon-
 ciling
 the ceremony of his visit
 192. 12. nothing in divinity, so that
 193. 4. but they were
 195. 7. thither on those reasons
 208. 18. as it seemed
 232. 8. from the bottom, which were thought
 so well writ that they
 235. 14. very memorable
 239. 5. which was as much as to say, dead or
 alive.
 245. 18. the more necessary
 268. 6. from the bottom. chief justice Wright
 was brought into this court
 280. 18. to bind up nature. Yet it was said
 she had several returns of that which hap-
 pens to women when they are not with child.

First Edition.

- he should declare war
 so *omitted*
 in particular that concerning
omitted
 for protestants
omitted
 as well as they could
 but were only
omitted
 yet
 and
omitted
 I ever saw *omitted*
 tire his patience, *much the*
same
 she was *omitted*
 still more *omitted*
 his *omitted*
 nothing of divinity
 but because they were
 on those reasons *omitted*
 that it seemed
omitted
 memorable
 as much as to say *omitted*
 the more *omitted*
 Wright was now brought
 into this court and made
 chief justice.
omitted

	<i>Present Edition.</i>	<i>First Edition.</i>
P. lin.		
284.	8. she gave out	<i>omitted</i>
285.	3. but now	yet now
300.	5. in such a particular friendship	such <i>omitted</i>
304.	4. took fire upon it, and	<i>omitted</i>
320.	9. This passage, 'though she used—— flatter,' ought not to have been omitted, as it does appear in the Transcript.	
323.	8. counties	countries
334.	12. a peace, and the forts which he had built for the security of his subjects, ought to be included in the peace.	<i>omitted</i>
335.	7. princes'	<i>omitted</i>
336.	3. he was not called on	he was not indeed to be called on
340.	3. from the bottom, too early, and there- fore very weak conduct	unprecedented conduct
342.	18. an imposture in	<i>omitted</i>
348.	6 from the bottom. therefore full	thus full
352.	11. laws made to secure	made <i>omitted</i>
376.	10. the lord Colchester, Mr. Wharton, the eldest sons of the earl of Rivers and the lord Wharton.	the lord Colchester, the eld- est son of the earl of Rivers and the lord Wharton.
379.	last line. of that spurious race.	of the king's sons
382.	12. and was by that exposed to much censure.	<i>omitted</i>
389.	18. within thirty miles	within twenty miles
398.	14. was also there	also <i>omitted</i>
413.	8 from the bottom. any orders about them	any <i>omitted</i>
423.	8 from the bottom. about them.	among them.
424.	12. by his enemies	<i>omitted</i>
434.	19. as things then stood	then <i>omitted</i>
435.	2 from the bottom. right of making them	right of deposing them
430.	13. in her name	in her room
431.	3 from the bottom. to any that might at- tempt	to any attempt
454.	8. though he could not	though <i>omitted</i>
462.	16. true to them, and obey, and defend them.	and obey <i>omitted</i>

A

TABLE OF THE CONTENTS

OF THE FOREGOING

HISTORY.

A REIGN happily begun, but inglorious all over	1	Strange practices in elections of parliament men	17
The king's first education	3	Evil prospect from an ill parlia- ment	19
He learned war under Turenne	4	The prince of Orange submits in every thing to the king	21
He was admiral of England	5	The king was crowned	23
He was proclaimed king	6	I went out of England	24
His first speech	7	Argile designed to invade Scot- land	25
Well received	ibid.	The duke of Monmouth forced upon an ill-timed invasion	26
Addresses made to him	ibid.	These designs were carried with secrecy	30
The earl of Rochester made lord treasurer	8	Argile landed in Scotland	31
The earl of Sunderland in favour	9	But was defeated, and taken	32
Customs and excise levied against law	ibid.	Argile's execution	33
The king's coldness to those who had been for the exclusion	12	Rumbold at his death denied the Rye plot	35
He seemed to be on equal terms with the French king	ibid.	A parliament in Scotland	37
The king's course of life	14	Granted all that the king desired	39
The prince of Orange sent away the duke of Monmouth	15	Oates convicted of perjury	41
Some in England began to move for him	16		

And cruelly whipt	ibid.	The king declared against the tests	
Dangerfield killed	42		79
A parliament in England	43	Proceedings in Ireland	ibid.
Grants the revenue for life	ibid.	The persecution in France	81
And trusts to the king's promise		A fatal year to the protestant religion	82
	44		
The parliament was violent	46	Rouvigny's behaviour	83
The lords were more cautious		He came over to England	86
	47	Dragoons sent to live on discretion upon the protestants	87
The duke of Monmouth landed at Lime	48	Many of them yielded through fear	88
An act of attainder passed against him	49	Great cruelty every where	ibid.
A rabble came and joined him		I went into Italy	90
	51	And was well received at Rome	
Lord Grey's cowardice	ibid.		91
The earl of Feversham commanded the king's army	54	Cardinal Howard's freedom with me	92
The duke of Monmouth defeated		Cruelties in Orange	95
	56	Another session of parliament	96
And taken	ibid.	The king's speech against the test	
Soon after executed	58		97
He died with great calmness	60	Jefferies made lord chancellor	99
Lord Grey pardoned	62	The house of commons address the king for observing the law	100
The king was lifted up with his successes	63		
But it had an ill effect on his affairs	64	The king was much offended with it	102
Great cruelties committed by his soldiers	ibid.	The parliament was prorogued	
And much greater by Jefferies			104
	65	The lord de la Meer tried and acquitted	105
With which the king was well pleased	66		1686.
The execution of two women	67	A trial upon the act for the test	
The behaviour of those who suffered	71		107
The nation was much changed by this management	75	Many judges turned out	108
Great disputes for and against the tests	ibid.	Herbert, chief justice, gives judgment for the king's dispensing power	ibid.
Some change their religion	77	Admiral Herbert's firmness	111
The duke of Queensborough disgraced	78	Father Petre, a Jesuit, in high favour	113
		The king declared for a toleration	114

The clergy managed the points of controversy with great zeal and success	115	The princess's resolution with re- spect to the prince	153
The persons who were chiefly en- gaged in this	117	Penn sent over to treat with the prince	155
Dr. Sharp in trouble	118	Some bishops died in England	157
The bishop of London required to suspend him	119	Cartwright and Parker promoted	160
Which he could not obey	ibid.	The king's letter refused in Cam- bridge	166
An ecclesiastical commission set up	120	The vice-chancellor turned out by the ecclesiastical commissioners	167
The bishop of London brought before it	122	An attempt to impose a popish president on Magdalen college	169
And was suspended by it	123	They disobey, and are censured for it	173
Affairs in Scotland	124		1687.
A tumult at Edinburgh	125	And were all turned out	175
A parliament held there	126	The dissenters were much courted by the king	183
Which refused to comply with the king's desire	129	Debates and resolutions among them	185
A zeal appeared there against popery	130	The army encamped at Hounslow heath	186
Affairs in Ireland	ibid.	An ambassador sent to Rome	187
The king made his mistress countess of Dorchester	133	He managed every thing unhap- pily	188
Attempts made on many to change their religion	134	Pope Innocent's character	191
Particularly on the earl of Ro- chester	136	Disputes about the franchises	194
He was turned out	139	Queen Christina's character of some popes	196
Designs talked of against Holland	140	D'Albeville sent envoy to Holland	ibid.
I stayed some time at Geneva	ibid.	I was upon the king's pressing instances forbid to see the prince and princess of Orange	197
The state and temper I observed among the reformed	142	Dykvelt sent to England	ibid.
I was invited by the prince of Orange to come to the Hague	144	The negotiations between the king and the prince	199
A character of the prince and princess of Orange	147		
I was much trusted by them	149		
The prince's sense of our affairs	150		

A letter writ by the Jesuits of Liege, that discovers the king's designs	204	Which was refused, but the officers had leave to go	250
Dykvelt's conduct in England	205	A new declaration for toleration	251
A proclamation of indulgence sent to Scotland	206	Which the clergy were ordered to read	253
Which was much censured	207	To which they would not give obedience	255
A declaration for toleration in England	209	The archbishop and six bishops petition the king	256
Addresses made upon it	210	The king ordered the bishops to be prosecuted for it	262
The king's indignation against the church party	211	They were sent to the tower	264
The parliament was dissolved	213	But soon after discharged	265
The reception of the pope's nuncio	214	They were tried	266
The king made a progress through many parts of England	215	And acquitted	269
A change in the magistracy in London, and over England	217	To the great joy of the town and nation	ibid.
Questions put about elections of parliament	219	The clergy was next designed against	270
The king wrote to the princess of Orange about religion	222	The effect this had every where	271
Which she answered	226	Russel pressed the prince	273
Reflections on these letters	231	The prince's answer	274
A prosecution set on against me	232	The elector of Brandenburg's death	275
Albeville's memorial to the States	235	The queen gave out that she was with child	278
The States' answer to what related to me	239	The queen's reckoning changed	284
Other designs against me	241	The queen said to be in labour	286
Pensioner Fagel's letter	242	And delivered of a son	287
Father Petre made a privy counsellor	246	Great grounds of jealousy appeared	288
The confidence of the Jesuits	247	The child, as was believed, died, and another was put in his room	292
The pensioner's letter was printed	248	The prince and princess of Orange sent to congratulate	295
The king asked the regiments of his subjects in the States' service	249	The prince designs an expedition to England	296
		Sunderland advised more moderate proceedings	297

And he turned papist	299	The princess's sense of things	354
The prince of Orange treats with some of the princes of the em- pire	302	The prince took leave of the States	ibid.
The affairs of Colen	304	We sailed out of the Maes.	355
Herbert came over to Holland	312	But were forced back	356
The advices from England	ibid.	Consultations in England	357
The lord Mordaunt's character	313	Proofs brought for the birth of the prince of Wales	361
The earl of Shrewsbury's charac- ter	ibid.	We sailed out more happily a second time	370
Russel's character	314	We landed at Torbay	372
Sidney's character	315	The king's army began to come over to the prince	376
Many engaged in the design	317	An association among those who came to the prince	383
Lord Churchill's character	318	The heads in Oxford sent to him	384
The court of France gave the alarm	324	Great disorders in London	386
Recruits from Ireland refused	325	A treaty begun with the prince	387
Offers made by the French	327	The king left the kingdom	389
Not entertained at that time	ibid.	He is much censured	392
The French own an alliance with the king	329	But is brought back	395
The strange conduct of France	331	The prince is desired to come and take the government into his hands	398
A manifesto of war against the empire	333	Different advice given to the prince concerning the king's person	401
Reflections made upon it	334	The prince came to London, and the king went to Rochester	411
Another against the pope	336	The prince was welcomed by all sorts of people	414
Censures that passed upon it	338	Consultations about the settle- ment of the nation	415
Marshal Schomberg sent to Cleve	339	The king went over to France	417
The Dutch fleet at sea	340	The affairs of Scotland	418
The prince of Orange's declara- tion	341	The affairs of Ireland	421
I was desired to go with the prince	343	1689.	
Advices from England	344	The prince in treaty with the earl of Tyrconnel	425
Artifices to cover the design	347		
The Dutch put to sea	349		
Some factious motions at the Hague	350		
The army was shipped	353		

The convention met	428	It was resolved to put the prince	
Some are for a prince regent	430	and princess both in the throne	
Others are for another king	434		454
And against a regency	437	They drew an instrument about it	
Some moved to examine the birth			458
of the prince of Wales	444	The oaths were altered	460
But it was rejected	445	The ill sense that was put on the	
Some were for making the prince		new oath	462
king	448	The princess came to England	
The prince declared his mind after			465
long silence	452	The conclusion	468

INDEX

TO THE HISTORY OF KING JAMES II.

Extracted from the Index drawn up, as it now appears, by judge Burnet to his father's whole work.

- Abdicate, debate on the word, 442, 443.
- Abingdon, earl of, goes to the prince of Orange, 376.
- Ailloffe, 32, 34, 36; executed, 37.
- Albemarle, duke of, sent against the duke of Monmouth, 51.
- Albeville, marquis de, his character, 196, 197; king James's envoy to the States, 199, 200, 202, 222, 223, 235; his memorial about Bantam, 236, 237; he discovers king James's design too soon, 247, 248, 328, 329.
- Aldrich, Dr., 117.
- Anglesey, earl of, opposes Monmouth's attainder, 49.
- Argile, earl of, invades Scotland, 25, 26, 27, 30, 31; is defeated, taken, and executed, 32, 33, 34.
- Armagh, primate of, 80.
- Army, the, at Hounslow-heath, 186, 187; king James's desert to the prince of Orange, 377, 378; parties engage in Dorsetshire and at Reading, 400, 401.
- Arran, lord, 31, 386.
- Atterbury, Dr., 117.
- Barillon, 90, 196, 328.
- Bath, earl of, his practices on Cornish elections, 17; offers to join the prince of Orange, 371; makes Plymouth declare for him, 385.
- Beaumont, colonel, refuses Irish recruits, 326.
- Bellasis, lady, 286.
- Benthink, envoy from the States to Brandenburg, 302; his secrecy in the expedition to England, 353, 402, 448.
- Berkeley, lord lieutenant of Ireland, 4.
- Berwick, duke of, his character, 279.
- Borghese, prince, 94.
- Brandenburgh, elector of, his death and character, 274, 275, 276, 277.
- Brandon, lord, 63.
- Bristol, earl of, 381.
- Bruce, bishop of Dunkeld, turned out for speaking against the repeal of the penal laws, 129.

- Burnet, bishop (the author), goes out of England, 24; resides at Paris, 82; his account of the persecution in France, *ibid.*, 83, 84, 85, 87, 88, 89, 90; well received at Rome, 91; cardinal Howard's freedom with him, 92, 93; the cruelty he saw in Orange, 95; his observations on the reformed churches, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144; is invited to the prince and princess of Orange, 144; discovers a conspiracy against the prince, 145; his character of the prince and princess, *ibid.*, 147, 148; much employed and trusted by them, 149; puts the princess on declaring what share the prince may expect in the government, 153, 154; forbid their court in appearance at king James's instance, 197; is more trusted, *ibid.*; draws Dykvelt's private instructions when sent ambassador to England, *ibid.*, 198, 231; is prosecuted in Scotland for high treason, 233; naturalized at the Hague, *ibid.*; Albeville demands him to be delivered up or banished, 237; the States' answer, 239; other designs on his life, 240, 241; acquaints the house of Hanover with the prince of Orange's design, and intimates the probability of an entail on that family, 303; goes with the prince of Orange, as his chaplain, 343; his advice to the princess of Orange, 354; what passed between the prince and him at landing, 372; draws up an association at Exeter, 384; his conference with the marquis of Halifax concerning king James, 388, 402; protects the Papists and Jacobites from insults, 413; opposes Bentinck in behalf of the princess of Orange, 448, 449; declares her sentiments, 455.
- Campbell, father and son imprisoned, 40.
- Carstairs, put to the torture, 39.
- Cartwright made bishop of Chester, 160, 175, 258.
- Caryl, sent to Rome, 12.
- Chaise, father la, 200.
- Chamberlain, Dr., 288.
- Charlton, 16.
- Charteris, Mr., attends on the earl of Argyle at his execution, 33, 34.
- Chudleigh, 13.
- Churchill, lord, sent ambassador to France, 13; his character, 318, 319; goes to the prince of Orange at Axminster, 379.
- Churchill, lady, her character, 320; accompanies the princess of Denmark to Northampton, 381, 382.
- Cibo, cardinal, 190.
- Claget, Dr., 117.
- Clarendon, earl of, 5.
- Clarendon, earl of, made lieutenant of Ireland, 80, 130; recalled, 131, 376; reflects on king James, and joins the prince of Orange, 387, 388; sent to treat with the lords sent by king James, 389, 407; reconciles himself to the Jacobites, 424; for a prince regent, 432.
- Clarendon, countess of, 282, 290.
- Clement, prince, chosen coadjutor

- to Cologne, 308, 309, 310, 332, 337, 339.
- Clergy, English, their controversy with the church of Rome, 115, 116, 117; by whom managed, 117; invite the prince of Orange to defend them, 180, 181; welcome him here, 414, 415.
- Clergy, Scotch, insulted by the presbyterians at the revolution, 419.
- Cochran, sir John, 25, 32, 35, 36.
- Colchester, lord, joins the prince of Orange, 376.
- Cologne, elector of, his death and character, 304, 305; the state of Cologne at his death, 307, 310, 332, 335.
- Compton, bishop of London, is against repealing the test, 100; refuses to suspend Dr. Sharp, 119; brought before the ecclesiastical commission, 122; suspended by them, 123; meets at the lord Shrewsbury's, 206; for the prince of Orange, 317; conveys the princess of Denmark to Northampton, 382.
- Condom, bishop of, 83.
- Cook (Coke) sent to the tower, 103.
- Cornbury, his regiment joins the prince of Orange, 376.
- Cornish, 71; executed, 72.
- Crewe, bishop of Durham, 120, 121.
- Culpepper, lord, 399, 450.
- Dada, nuncio to king James, 191.
- Danby, earl of, joins for inviting over the prince of Orange, 206, 317, 323, 345, 378, 448, 451, 452, 453.
- Dangerfield, convicted of perjury and whipped, 42; his death, *ibid.*
- Dartmouth, lord, 312; commands the fleet against the prince of Orange, 325; is forced into Portsmouth, 374.
- D'Avaux, 248, 324.
- De la Mere, lord, 24; tried and acquitted, 105, 106, 107; raises a regiment for the prince of Orange, 379, 409.
- Denmark, George, prince of, 281, 322; joins the prince of Orange, 380.
- Denmark, Anne, princess of, sent to Bath, 283, 322; retires to Northampton at the revolution, 382, 450, 454.
- D'Estrees, cardinal, 92.
- Devonshire, earl of, 98, 318; joins in inviting the prince of Orange, *ibid.*, 323, 378.
- Dissenters, courted by king James, 183; their debates and resolutions, 185.
- Dolben, archbishop of York, 121.
- Dorchester, countess of, 133, 279.
- Dorset, lady, 382.
- Doughty, Dr., 450.
- Drumlanerick, lord, joins the prince of Orange, 380.
- Dundee, earl of, heads the episcopal party in Scotland, 420.
- Dundonald, earl of, 35.
- Dyckvelt, ambassador to England, 67, 150; sent again with instructions how to manage all sorts of people in England, 197, 198, 200, 201, 202, 203, 205, 353.
- Ely, bishop of, 399.
- Fagel, pensioner, 146, 150; his

- letter to Steward, 242, 347, 348.
- Farmer, refused to be chosen president of Magdalen college, 169, 170.
- Fatio, 146.
- Fell, bishop of Oxford, 157, 158.
- Ferguson, cabals in Holland with the duke of Monmouth, 27, 29, 50, 53.
- Feversham, earl of, commands against Monmouth, 54, 70, 403; sent with a message to the prince of Orange, 405, 406.
- Finch, Dr., warden of All Souls, sent to the prince of Orange, 793.
- Finch, Heneage, afterwards earl of Aylsford, 107.
- Fitton, chancellor of Ireland, 131.
- Fitz-James made duke of Berwick, 279.
- Fletcher, Andrew, 27, 29, 52.
- Francis, father, refused his degree at Cambridge, 166, 167.
- French, the, their king, 307, 309; warns king James of the prince of Orange's designs, 324; offers him troops, 327; and threatens the States in case of an invasion, 329; prohibits Dutch manufactures, 331, 332; his manifesto of war against the emperor, 333, 334, 335, 336; and against the pope, 336, 337.
- Furstemberg, prince of, dean of Cologne, 305; made a cardinal, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310; the French king espouses him, 333, 334.
- Gaunt, Mrs., 67; her execution, 68.
- Gee, 117.
- George, prince, see Denmark.
- Gibson, colonel, deputy governor of Exeter, 384.
- Godolphin, lord, one of the queen's household, 9; sent by king James to the prince of Orange, 387.
- Goodenough, 71.
- Gordon, duke of, governor of Edinburgh castle, 418.
- Grafton, duke of, joins the prince of Orange, 379.
- Grey, lord, meets Monmouth in Holland, 27, 28, 29; his ill conduct, 51, 52; is pardoned, 62, 139.
- Hales, sir Edward, his trial on the test act, 107, 108; follows king James beyond sea, 392.
- Halewyn, 150, 197.
- Hall, made bishop of Oxford, 261, 262.
- Halifax, marquis of, 8, 9; moves in council to examine who have taken the test, 76, 77; dismissed, 79; meets at lord Shrewsbury's, 206, 317; sent by king James to the prince of Orange, 387, 406, 409, 425, 448, 449, 453.
- Halloway, judge, 268.
- Hambden, 24, 63.
- Hamilton, duke of, 3, 129; with others of the Scotch nobility addresses the prince of Orange, 421.
- Hamilton, duchess of, 362.
- Hamilton, general, sent to treat with Tyrconnel, 426.
- Hamilton made bishop of Dunkeld, 129.
- Hanover, duke of, 303.
- Hedges, sir Charles, 175.

Heidegger, of Zurich, 205.
 Hemmings, apothecary, his story of the prince of Wales's death, 290, 291.
 Herbert, sir Edward, chief justice, 108; goes the western circuit, 114; made an ecclesiastical commissioner, 120; a judge in the seven bishops' trial, 268.
 Herbert, admiral, against repealing the test, 111; goes over to Holland, 312; is lieutenant-general of the Dutch fleet, 341, 346, 349, 353, 368.
 Hesse, landgrave of, 303.
 Hicks, a dissenter, 69.
 Hooper, Dr., 674.
 Hough, Dr., chosen president of Magdalen college, 170; turned out by the ecclesiastical commission, 173, 175.
 Howard, cardinal, 92, 187, 191, 247.
 Hume, sir Patrick, corresponds with Argile, 25, 26.
 Hyde, chancellor, see Clarendon, earl of.
 James II., king, begins his reign with great advantage, 1; his education, 3, 4; learned war under Turenne, 4; is proclaimed with great shouts, 6; addressed by Oxford and London, 8; customs and excise levied without law, 9, 10, 11, 12; goes openly to mass, 12; his course of life, 14, 15; summons a parliament, 17; his coronation, 23; his success against Monmouth and Argile, 63; cruelties of soldiers and of Jefferies in the west, 64, 65; the nation turned by them, 75; disputes about

the test, *ibid.*, 76; the king's declaration against the test act, 79; the commons address for observing the act, 102; some members closeted, others disgraced for their voting, 104; the judges consulted as to the king's dispensing power, 108; the test neglected, 112, 113; an ecclesiastical commission, 120; he sends the earl of Murray to hold a parliament in Scotland, 126; the parliament will not take off the test there, 129; and is dissolved, *ibid.*; the king makes Mrs. Sidley countess of Dorchester, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137; attempts to bring papists into the two universities, 163, 164, 166, 167, 168, 169; the president and fellows of Magdalen college turned out, 175, 176; the king courts the dissenters, 183, 184; his army encamps on Hounslow-heath, 186; sends an ambassador to Rome, 188, 190; and Albeville envoy to Holland, 196, 197; the king's designs disclosed by the Jesuits at Liege, 204; by his proclamation in Scotland he claims absolute power, 206, 207; his declaration for toleration in England, 209; addresses of the dissenters, 210, 211; the parliament dissolved, 213; the pope's nuncio received, 213, 214; the king's progress, 215; changes the magistrates over England, 217; questions put about elections, 219; his letter to the princess of Orange about religion, 222, 223, 224, 225; her answer, 225, 226, 227, 228,

229, 230; Steward in favour, 242, 243; F. Petre a privy counsellor, 246; the king demands his regiments in the States' service, 249; a new declaration for toleration, 251; the clergy refuse to read it, 255; the bishops petition against it, 256, 257, 258; are sent to the Tower, 264; are tried in Westminster-hall, 265, 266, 267, 268; great joy at their acquittal, 269, 270; the clergy cited, 270; the queen gives out she is with child, 278, 280, 281; an account of the birth of that child, 280, 281, 282, 283, 284, 285, 286, 287, 288, 289, 290, 291, 292, 293, 294, 295, 296; a fleet sent out, 297; the court alarmed, 302, 324; lord Dartmouth commands the fleet, 325; Irish recruits refused by the officers of the army, 326; the French troops refused, 327, 328; the earl of Sunderland prevents the seizing suspected persons, 357, 358, 359; proofs of the birth of the pretended prince of Wales, 361, 362, 363, 364, 365, 366, 367; the fleet is forced back into Portsmouth, 374; the king comes to Salisbury, 376; many forsake him, 378; the princess of Denmark does, 381, 382; he returns to London, 385; sends for the lords there, and by their advice sends to treat with the prince of Orange, 387; strange counsel of the priests, 389; the king goes away in disguise, 391, 392; taken and brought to Feversham, 395; advices given as to his person,

402, 403; brought to Whitehall, 404; sent under a Dutch guard to Rochester, 411; his queen presses him to come to France, 417.

Jane, Dr., 136.

Jefferies, lord, his cruelty in the west, 65; made a baron, 67; and lord chancellor, 99, 120, 168, 188, 241, 360, 397; sent to the Tower, 398.

Innocent XI., pope, 91.

Johnstoune, 316, 323.

Jurien, M., 149.

Ken, bishop, attends the duke of Monmouth at his execution, 58.

Kirk, 64, 135, 241, 318.

Langston, colonel, 377.

Lavardin, count, enters Rome in a hostile manner, 306.

Leyburn, a bishop, sent from Rome, 247.

Lilibulero, song so called, 383.

Lisle, lord, 69; his lady's character and execution, *ibid.*, 70, 71.

Lloyd, bishop, 163, 292, 293, 463.

Lob advises sending the bishops to the Tower, 259.

Lorge, marshal, 13.

Louvoy dragoons the protestants, 87, 145, 146, 324.

Lucas, lord, seizes the Tower, and declares for the prince of Orange, 398.

Lumley, lord, 56, 315, 323, 378.

Lunenburg, duke of, 303.

Macclesfield, earl of, 351.

Macom, 126.

- Magdalen college, Oxford, attempt upon by king James, 169, 359, 360.
- Magna Charta, an original in the author's hands, 436.
- Maintenon, Madame de, 96, 200.
- Mary, queen, wife of king James II., went to Bath, 279; the mysterious management of her supposed childbirth, 281, 282, 283, 284, 285, 286, 287, 288, 289, 290, 291, 292, 293; went to France, 391; engaged king James to follow her, 417.
- Mary, queen of Scots, 149.
- Massey, dean of Christ Church, 163.
- Maynard, sergeant, 46; his repartee to king William, 415.
- Meaux, bishop of, 83.
- Melfort, earl of, 40, 41, 77, 78, 357.
- Melville, lord, 25.
- Middleton, earl of, his advice to Paterson, 128, 135, 233, 410.
- Millington, Dr., 283.
- Modena, duchess of, 280.
- Monmouth, duke of, dismissed from Holland, 15, 16, 19, 21, 24, 26; forced to an unripe invasion, 27, 28, 30, 31; lands at Lime, 48; attainted by parliament, 49; defeated and taken, 56; executed, 58, 59, 60; dies calmly, 61.
- Mordaunt, lord, 100, 312, 351.
- Morgan, father, 230.
- Mountague, earl of, 82.
- Mountjoy, lord, 422, 427.
- Mulgrave, earl of, 134.
- Murray, earl of, 126.
- Musgrave, sir Christopher, 44.
- Nelthorpe, 650.
- Norfolk, duke of, his repartee to king James, 135.
- North, chief justice, his character, 98.
- Northumberland, earl of, 3.
- Nottingham, earl of, attacks lord Guilford, 98; meets at lord Shrewsbury's, 206, 317; sent by king James to treat with the prince of Orange, 387, 416; for a prince regent, 432, 434.
- Nuncio from the pope, solemnly received by king James, 213, 214.
- Oates, Titus, convicted of perjury, and cruelly whipped, 41.
- Odescalchi, Livio, 91.
- Orange, William Henry, prince of, dismisses the duke of Monmouth, 15; keeps fair with king James, 21, 22, 140; invites Dr. Burnet to the Hague, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157; addressed by the church and clergy to interpose, 180, 181; his answer to D'Albeville's propositions, 201; his friends meet at the earl of Shrewsbury's to concert measures, 206; Fagel's answers to Steward's letters, 244, 245, 246, 247, 248, 249; his answer to Russel, 274; congratulates on the birth of the pretended prince of Wales, 295; communicates his intended expedition to the elector of Brandenburg, 302; Cologne affords a pretence for arming, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 311; the States fit out a fleet, 311; what English engaged, 312, 313, 314, 315, 316, 317, 318, 319, 320, 321,

- 322, 323, 324; affairs in Germany favour the design, 333, 334, 335, 336; the Dutch fleet at sea, 340; the prince's declaration, 341, 342, 343, 344, 345, 346, 347, 348, 350, 351; it is amended, 352, 353, 354, 355; the fleet forced back, 356, 368, 369; they return to sea, 370; land at Torbay, 372; the prince's behaviour, *ibid.*, 373; proceeds to Exeter, 375; many desert to him, 376, 377, 378; an association, 383; he is invited to Oxford, 384; his answer to the lords sent by king James, 389; the privy council invite him to London, 398, 399; learns that king James was fled, 400; at Windsor, that he was returned to Whitehall, 402, 404, 405; sends him a message to remove, 410; comes to London, 411, 412, 413; calls a convention of estates, 416; the Scotch declare for him, 419, 423, 424, 425, 427, 428; the convention meets, 428, 430; their debates, 431, 432, 433, 434, 435, 436, 437, 438, 439, 440, 441; about the word *abdicate*, 442, 443; a motion for examining the birth of the pretended prince of Wales, 444; rejected, 445; other motions, 448; the prince's behaviour all this while, 452; it is carried to put the prince and princess jointly on the throne, 456; protests in the house of lords, *ibid.*; the oaths altered, 460, 461; the notion of a king *de facto*, and a king *de jure*, 461, 462.
- Orange, princess of, her letters to king James, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 228, 229, 230; arrives in England, 465.
- Orleans, duchess of, 333, 334.
- Ormond, duke of, 79.
- Oxford, earl of, 389.
- Oxford, university of, promises to obey James II. without limitation, 8; invites the prince of Orange, 384; signs the association, 400.
- Palmer, earl of Castlemain, sent to Rome, 188.
- Parker, Dr., made bishop of Oxford, 161, 173, 174, 175; his death, 260.
- Parliament, English, 17, 18, 19, 43; grant the civil list for life, 43; a bill to make words treason, 46; act of attainder of the duke of Monmouth, 49; a new session, 96, 97, 98; the commons' address for observing the test, 102; the parliament prorogued, 104; and dissolved, 213; a convention called, 416, 428; debates there, 428—456; declare the prince and princess of Orange king and queen, and pass a claim of rights, 456; offer them the crown, 468.
- Parliament, Scotch, 37; grant all that is asked, 39; they will not take off the penal laws, 129; are dissolved, *ibid.*
- Paterson, bishop, 128, 129; made archbishop, 129.
- Patrick, bishop, 117, 136.
- Pearson, bishop, his death and character, 157, 158.
- Pembroke, earl of, 399.
- Pen, the quaker, 68, 72, 155, 156, 157, 185, 242, 252.

- Perth, countess of, turns Roman catholic, 124, 125.
- Perth, lord, turns papist, 77, 78; has a chapel for mass, 125; is imprisoned, 422.
- Petre, father, 113, 132, 156, 189; a privy councillor, 246, 251, 259, 262, 264.
- Pierce, Mrs., her deposition, 364.
- Plymouth garrison declare for the prince of Orange, 385.
- Pope Innocent, his character, 191, 192; his disputes with France, 193.
- Porter, sir Charles, 80, 81.
- Powel, judge, his opinion in the trial of the seven bishops, 268.
- Powis, countess of, 283.
- Powis made solicitor general and attorney general, 107, 266.
- Presbyterians, Scotch, insolent to the episcopal clergy, 419.
- Preston, lord, 44; made secretary of state, 358.
- Princess Anne, see Denmark.
- Prince George, see Denmark.
- Protestant religion, 83.
- Quakers, the, 185.
- Queen Mary, see Mary.
- Queen of Scots, see Mary queen of Scots.
- Queensbury, marquis of, made a duke, 37; his scheme, 37, 38; gets the better of the earl of Perth, 77; is disgraced and in danger, 78, 126, 129.
- Renaldi of Este made a cardinal, 189.
- Rochester, earl of, made lord treasurer, 8, 9, 11, 19; and one of the ecclesiastical commission, 120, 123; his conference about religion, 136; loses the white staff, 139; for a prince regent, 432.
- Ross, Dr., archbishop of Glasgow, 129.
- Rouvigny, ambassador from France, 13, 83, 85.
- Rumbold, 32.
- Rumsey, 71, 72.
- Russel, lord, 61.
- Russel, admiral, meets at lord Shrewsbury's, 206; goes to the Hague, 273, 274; his character, 314, 315, 323, 351, 352, 371.
- Russel, Mr., lord Russel's brother, 376.
- Sancroft, archbishop, is one of the ecclesiastical commission, 120, 162, 163; joins in the petition of the seven bishops, 254, 255, 256; met with the privy councillors that invited the prince of Orange, 398, 414; absents from the convention, 430.
- Saville, George, see Halifax, marquis of.
- Sawyer, attorney general, 266.
- Scarborough, Dr., 282, 283.
- Schomberg, marshal, quits the French and Portuguese service, 339, 340, 346, 368, 372.
- Sedley, Mrs., 14, 15, 23; created countess of Dorchester, 133, see Dorchester.
- Seimour, sir Edward, 45; joins the prince of Orange, and proposes an association, 383; is governor of Exeter, 384.
- Sharp, Dr. John, preaches against popery, 118, 119, 122, 124.
- Shrewsbury, earl of, meetings at

- his house in favour of the prince of Orange, 206; his character, 313, 314; goes over to Holland, 323, 351, 384, 389, 409, 453.
- Sibbald, sir Robert, 127.
- Sidley, see Sedley.
- Sidney, Mr., in high favour with the prince of Orange, 300; his character, 315, 316, 317, 344, 351.
- Skelton, envoy at the Hague, 14, 48; and at Paris, 196; is sent to the Tower, 329.
- Solmes, count, 409, 411.
- Somerset, duke of, 214.
- Sprat, bishop of Rochester, 121, 270.
- Steward, a lawyer, his letters to Fagel, 242, 244, 246.
- Stewart, Dr., 223.
- Stillingleet, Dr., 117, 136, 318.
- Stoupe, brigadier, 91.
- Sunderland, earl of, 9; made president of the council, 79, 113, 203; advises moderate measures, 297; turns papist, 299; advises the rejecting a French army, 327; is turned out, 357, 358.
- Sunderland, countess of, 286, 362.
- Talbot, Richard, made earl of Tirconnell, 80, see Tirconnell.
- Temple, sir William, 424, 426, 428.
- Tennison, Dr., 59, 117.
- Tessè, mareschal, 95.
- Tillotson, Dr., 117, 136, 318.
- Tirconnell, earl of, 130; made lieutenant of Ireland, 131, 407, 421, 422, 424, 425, 426, 427. see Talbot, Richard.
- Trelawney, bishop of Bristol, 258, 318.
- Trelawney, general, 318.
- Trumball, sir William, 330.
- Turenne, mareschal, his character of the duke of York, 4, 5.
- Turner, bishop, 22, 23, 24; attends the duke of Monmouth at execution, 58, 59.
- Van Hulst, 353.
- Villeroy, duke of, 13.
- Wade, 27.
- Wake, Dr., 117.
- Walgrave, 282, 291.
- Walker, Obadiah, 118.
- Ward, bishop, 160.
- Wentworth, lady, 27, 58, 59, 364.
- Weymouth, viscount, 399.
- Wharton, lord, 376.
- Whitby, Dr., 117.
- White, marquis d'Albeville, see Albeville.
- Whitford, 127.
- Wildman, 16, 350, 352, 368, 447.
- William III., joint sovereign with queen Mary, see Orange.
- Williams, bishop, 117.
- Williams, sir William, 266.
- Windebank, Dr., 291.
- Witherby, Dr., 283.
- Wright, chief justice, 268, 269.
- Zulestein, 295, 402.

INDEX TO THE NOTES.

- Abdication, the, lord Pembroke's remark on, 442 ; debate on, 456.
- Abingdon, earl of, 407.
- Ailoffe stabs himself, 37.
- Albeville, marquis of, 330.
- Aldworth, Dr., 171, 177.
- Alford, his account of Monmouth's landing, 49.
- Anne, princess of Denmark, conduct to her husband, 54, 139, 222 ; her remarks on the queen's being pregnant, 281, 284, 291, 367 ; leaves her father, 381 ; her pious restitution of the first fruits, 222.
- Annesley, Richard, dean of Exeter, 375.
- Argyle, earl of, 30, 31, 33, 34.
- Army, the king's address to the, 379, 394, 404, 411.
- Arnold, a brewer, one of the jury at the trial of the bishops, 269.
- Arran, countess of, 363.
- Arran, lord, afterwards duke of Hamilton, 411.
- Arundel of Wardour, lord, 259.
- Aylesbury, Bruce, earl of, extract of a letter from him on the Magdalen college affair, 164 ; his opinion of lord Sunderland, 298, 411.
- Bagshaw, captain, 171.
- Balcarras, earl of, his and lord Dundas' interview with the king, 404.
- Balderston, Dr., 168.
- Bandinel, Dr., 126.
- Barillon, 21 ; attempts divisions among the peers, 328.
- Barlow, bishop, 162.
- Bath, John Granville, earl of, 385.
- Bayley, Dr., fellow of Magdalen college, Oxford, 165.
- Baxter, captain, 241.
- Beaumont, lieutenant-colonel, 321, 326.
- Bellasis, lady, her deposition, 287.
- Bentinck, ambassador from the prince of Orange, afterwards earl of Portland, urges Monmouth's execution, 29, 412.
- Berkeley, Mrs., 381.
- Berwick, duke of, 279.
- Bill for the preservation of king James II., 47, 48.
- Bishops, the seven, acquitted by the jury, but after much debate, 269.
- Bliss, Dr., 31.
- Bolingbroke, lord, a fine sentiment of his respecting the duke of Marlborough, 319.
- Bond, made president of Magdalen college, Oxford, by queen Elizabeth, 169.
- Bonrepaus, the French agent, 132, 175, 325, 330.
- Boyle, Michael, archbishop of Armagh, his character, 80.

- Bradford, bishop, stumbled at the coronation of George II, 23.
- Bradford, earl of, 297, 298.
- Braybroke, lord, has some original papers relating to the Magdalen college visitation, 170, 172.
- Brudenel, lord, turns protestant, 313.
- Burnet, bishop, profession of his fidelity as an historian, 147; his account of himself, 152; set by the prince of Orange to prevail on the princess to yield all authority to him, 155, 184; outlawry, 238; design against him, 241; a statement of his confuted, 274; corrected, 280; blameable for his account of the queen's delivery, and the warming-pan story, 292; his vanity and want of fidelity according to lord Dartmouth, 304; conversation with the prince of Orange, 372, 446, 447; MS. draught of his own life cited, 412, 457; seemed to regret that James II. was detained, 402; a pamphlet of his publicly burnt, 464; account of his Autograph, 474, Append.; defended, 479, Append.
- Burnet, Thomas, son of the author, afterwards judge Burnet, author of a pamphlet, called *New Proofs of the Pretender's being truly James the Third*, 282, 290, 293, 364, 475, Append.
- Butler, sir Nicholas, 298.
- Cæsar, Mr., sent to the Tower, 9.
- Calamy, Dr., quoted, 72.
- Cambridge university elect archbishop Sancroft chancellor, 432.
- Carlingford, earl of, 199.
- Carstares, Mr., his paper of disbursements, 29, 238, 372.
- Cartwright, bishop, 161, 177.
- Castlemain, lord, disliked at Rome, 195.
- Chamberlayne, Dr. Hugh, his account of the queen's delivery, 289.
- Chandos, Brydges, duke of, 357.
- Charles I., treatment of, 169; his wishes respecting mandatory letters, 170; promotes the authority of the church, 222.
- Charles II. much lamented, 6, 53.
- Charnock sides with James II. in the affair of Magdalen college, 171, 172, 177.
- Chrysostom's, St., epistle to Cæsarius, 117.
- Chudleigh offends the prince of Orange, 14, 29.
- Church the, its meddling with politics unadvisable, 253.
- Churchill, captain, 385.
- Churchill, George, 322.
- Churchill, John, lord, 321, 322, see Marlborough, duke of.
- Cibber, Colley, 6.
- Citters, the Dutch envoy, 325.
- Clancarty, earl of, 160.
- Clarendon, Edward Hyde, earl of, his letter to Dr. Oliver, 169.
- Clarendon, countess of, 293.
- Clarendon, Henry Hyde, earl of, 139; desertion of his son apparently without his privity, 377; treats with the lords sent by James II, 389, 412.
- Clement VIII, pope, 189.
- Clerke, Dr., president of Magdalen college, 171.
- Cobbett, his observation on the national debt, 150.
- Cogan's Tracts, 205, 251.

- Coke, Mr., of Derbyshire, 103.
- Compton, Henry, bishop of London, 182, 359; anecdote of him, 382; votes against a regency, 457.
- Constitution of England, 460.
- Continuator of Mackintosh's History of the Revolution shews that the king did not abandon his army, 385; frequently cited.
- Cornbury, lord, 376.
- Cotton, sir John Hynde, 408.
- Coxe, archdeacon, 322.
- Cradock, Mr., 166.
- Craven, earl of, wished to fight the Dutch troops, 409. [The stout earl of Craven, as the duke of Bucks calls him, was above eighty at this time. He had opposed the king's nomination of a Roman catholic at the Charter House.]
- Creation of peers to obtain a majority a violation of the constitution, 298.
- Crewe, bishop, 161.
- Customs levied by James II, 10.
- Cutler, sir Thomas, 73.
- Dada, cardinal, his good sense, 191, 192, 265.
- Dalrymple, sir John, his character of lord keeper North, 99.
- Danby, Thomas Osborne, earl of, prevents a plan against lord Nottingham, 318, 451.
- Dangerfield, the informer, wounded, 42.
- Danvers, John, accusation against, 62, 300.
- Dare, of Taunton, 52, 53.
- Dartmouth, George Legge, lord, 60, 325, 391, 471. Append. 478.
- Dartmouth, William Legge, earl of, 184; answers the duke D'Aumont, 214.
- D'Avaux, the French ambassador, 29.
- D'Aumont, duke, 214.
- Davia, Donna Victoria, 471, Append.
- Dawson, Mrs., 287.
- Declaration of king James II, 258, 260, 272, 274.
- De Croise, madame, her prophecy respecting the duke of Marlborough, 320.
- Derby, countess of, made groom of the stole, 467.
- D'Este, Cæsar, 189.
- Dispensing Power, 111, 112, 179.
- Dissenters comply with James II, 186; majority of them defended, *ibid.*, 246.
- Divine right, origin of the doctrine, 463.
- Dixwell, sir Basil, 395.
- Dodwell's interview with bishop Pearson, 158; an unpublished collection of Letters to him from the bishops Fell and Lloyd, 182.
- Dorset, Charles Sackville, earl of, the supposed author of *Lilibulero*, 383.
- D'Oyly, Dr., refutes an assertion of Burnet's, 399, 414, 431, 479.
- Dundee, viscount, his interview with the king, 404, 420.
- Dutch, suspicions of their design against England, 311, 312.
- Dykvelt, 452.
- Edward II, his deposition, 436.
- Elections for the first parliament of James II, 18.
- Elizabeth, queen, 169; her conduct in 1588 defended on the plea of necessity, 459.

- Ellis, sir Henry, 292, 397, 468.
 Episcopacy abolished in Scotland
 by king William III, 419.
 Evelyn, John, his *Memoirs* cited,
 11, 18, 34, 274, 319.
 Eugene, prince, his character of
 the duke of Marlborough, 319.
 Fagel, the pensionary of Holland,
 381, 452.
 Fairfax, Dr., 171, 177.
 Fairfax, general, 171.
 Farmer, Mr., recommended to
 Magdalen college, by James II,
 171, 177.
 Fell, bishop, character of him,
 159, 160.
 Fenwick, sir John, 65, 352, 411.
 Feversham, earl of, 394; sent to
 protect king James, 403; im-
 prisoned, but soon set at liberty,
 406, 477, *Append.*
 Fitzharding, lady, 381.
 Fletcher, of Salton, his character,
 27, 29.
 Frampton, bishop, 257.
 France, league against, approved
 of by the pope, 337.
 Francis thrusts out Dangerfield's
 eye, 42.
 Fuller, William, 294.
 George, prince of Denmark, brave
 but indolent, 54; Charles the
 Second's opinion of him, *ibid.*;
 his character, *ibid.*, 380.
 Giffard, Bonaventure, 262.
 Giffard, lady, writes a life of her
 brother, sir William Temple, 424.
 Godden, an eminent Romanist,
 116, 138.
 Godfrey, colonel, 322.
 Godolphin, Sidney, earl of, in the
 queen's confidence, 9; obliges
 princess Anne, 139; employs
 Penn, 156; accompanies the
 queen to St. James's, 285; ad-
 vises James II. to withdraw, 393.
 Goodenough, 71.
 Grafton, duke of, introduces the
 pope's nuncio, 214, 379, 380,
 403.
 Greek church, 224.
 Grey, lord, this perfidious person
 made earl of Tankerville, 56;
 the cause of Monmouth's de-
 claring himself king, 60.
 Hales, sir Edward, his case, 111,
 179.
 Halifax, Charles Montague, earl
 of, 457.
 Halifax, George Saville, marquis
 of, 98, 206; his conduct when
 king James's commissioner,
 393, 409, 414; his reason for
 keeping up an army, 425; dis-
 puts with lord Danby, 451, 454.
 Hall, bishop of Oxford, 162.
 Hamilton, duchess of, 363.
 Harcourt, sir Simon, afterwards
 lord Harcourt, 109.
 Hawkins, Dr., refuses to read the
 declaration, 270.
 Hedges, sir Charles, made secre-
 tary of state, 175.
 Hemings, 293, 294.
 Henry VII, king of England, his
 case, 153.
 Henry IV. of France, his statue
 removed from before St. John
 Lateran, 193.
 Herbert, admiral, a severe reply
 to him by king James II, as
 to conscience, 112; disliked,
 341, 361.
 Herbert, sir Edward, created earl
 Portland by king James, 108;

- leaves his estate and library to lords Lincoln and Harcourt, *ibid.*; vindicates the king's dispensing power, 111; but distinguishes in favour of Magdalen college, 179.
- Hereditary right, 463.
- Heywood, sergeant, 47.
- Hickes, George, dean of Worcester, said to have refused soliciting for the pardon of his brother, 69; the lady Wentworth's relation to him respecting the birth of the prince of Wales, a MS. cited, 293, 365, 367, 447.
- Higgons, Bevell, 18, 42, 391; his View of English History quoted, 263, 296.
- Holden's letter, 175.
- Holt, sir John, 415.
- Holte, sir Charles, 220.
- Hook, brigadier, a confession of his, 62.
- Hough, Dr. John, 165; elected president of Magdalen college, 172, 175, 176, 177, 178.
- Howard, cardinal, beloved at Rome, 195.
- Hume, sir Patrick, afterwards earl of Marchmont, 28; Marchmont papers cited, 205.
- Huntingdon, earl of, 385.
- Ironside, Dr., his information to Dr. Smith, 179; his discourse with king James II, 180—182.
- James II, king of England, his character by speaker Onslow, 2; his additional speech, 7; receives money from France, 13; bill for his preservation, 47, 48; dislikes Jeffries's severity, 73; his sharp reply to admiral Herbert, 112; pretended order in his name to expel eighty students of Christ Church, 172; sends for and chides the fellows of Magdalen college, Oxford, 174; discourse with the vice-chancellor of Oxford, 180—182; refuses to set aside the princess of Orange, 222; his ignorance of the petition of Magdalen college, 179, 182; [It seems referred to in Hough's letter about Mr. Penn.] betrayed by White, 197; thought by foreigners to hurt the Roman catholics by his measures, 199; regulation of corporations contrary to his judgment, 219; disapproves of the princess's journey to Bath, 283, 312, 325; a saying of the French king relative to him, 357, 358, 359, 360, 361; his declarations concerning the birth of his son, 366; addresses the officers of his army, 379, 383, 385; attempts to leave the kingdom, 390, 391, 392, 393; detained at Feversham, 395, 402; his mind overset by his misfortunes, 395; rudely treated, 396, 397, 402, 403, 404; the city of London decline receiving him, 405; doubts as to what was to be done with him, 407, 410, 411, 412, 417, 419; his character, 430; his affection for his children, 467, 477, Append.
- Jane, Dr., 138.
- Jeffries, judge, 10, 43; his cruelty, 66, 72; conference with Dr. Sharp, 73; opposes lord keeper North, 98; behaves with decency at lord Delemere's trial,

- 107, 180; endeavours to escape, but is recognised by one who had been frightened by him, 397.
- Jekyll, sir Joseph, 72.
- Jenner, baron, his MS. account of the visitation of Magdalen college, 165, 177, 178, 180.
- Jesuits, their ingratitude and hostility to cardinal Howard, 195; pretended letter of, 205.
- Johnson, Samuel, his "Julian the Apostate," 386.
- Ken, bishop, relieves the prisoners at Wells, 73.
- Kendal, captain, his reply to lord Middleton, 101.
- King, *de jure* and *de facto*, 461.
- Kings, their interest to support the law, 272.
- Kirk, colonel, caressed by king William, 64, 379.
- Fortescue-Knottesford, Mr. Francis, 288, 448.
- Lamplugh, archbishop of York, 257; [where his name has been omitted, 'Lamplugh of Exeter.'] assists at the coronation of William III, 375.
- De Lauzun, Monsieur, conducts the queen to France, 471—474, Append.
- Leeds, Thomas Osborne, duke of, 454.
- Legge, colonel William, the younger, conducts the duke of Monmouth to London, 60.
- Le Neve, his letter, 160.
- Leslie, Charles, 445.
- Leyburn, Dr., an eminent Romanist, 138.
- Lilibulero, song, author of, 383.
- Lincoln, earl of, 109.
- Lingard's History of England, cited 10, 28, 42, 45, 52, 70, 119, 133, 138, 203, 414.
- Lisle, bishop of Norwich, 118.
- Lisle, 70.
- Lisle, Mrs., cruelly used, 69.
- Litchfield, earl of, 411.
- Lloyd, bishop, assists an anonymous writer in a pamphlet on the birth of the pretender, 293, 368, 431; appears to have been in the secret of the intended revolution, 182; active for the prince of Orange, with whom he corresponded, 431.
- Lloyd, bishop of Norwich, 257.
- Lob, Mr., 298.
- Locke, John, mistakingly said to assist Argyle, 26; his removal from Christ Church, 160.
- Lonsdale, lord, Memoir by, quoted, 47, 104, 214.
- Louis XIV, king of France, 21, 325, 344, 357.
- Louisa, princess, daughter of James II, 294.
- Louvois advises the quartering of troops on the protestants in France, 87.
- Lucas, lord, 398, 478, Append.
- Lumley, lord, turns protestant, 313; Swift's opinion of, 315.
- Macclesfield, Gerard, earl of, said to have proposed the murder of James II, 61.
- Mackenzie, sir George, confutes the warming-pan story, 288.
- Magdalen college, 164, 165; full account of their contest with king James, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 361.

- Magna Charta, 259.
- Mansfield, lord, his observation on the funds, 150.
- Mangey, Dr., 118.
- Marlborough, John Churchill, duke of, prince Eugene's character of, 319, 321, 322, 379, 381.
- Marlborough, Sarah, duchess of, her *Memoirs*, 320, 322, 323; her account of the princess Anne's flight, *ibid.*; her account of the princess of Orange contradicted, 466; "*Duchess of Marlborough's Conduct, Review of,*" cited, 467.
- Mary of Modena, queen of James II, a phrase used by her, 113; account of her pregnancy and delivery, 280, 281, 282, 283, 284, 285, 286, 287, 288, 289, 290, 291, 292, 293, 294; her account of her son's illness, 292; quits the kingdom, 390, 391, 468.
- Massey, dean, sets up a Roman catholic chapel, 163; his interesting account of the methods taken to ruin James II, 172.
- Manwaring, Arthur, 320.
- Maynard, Dr., 172.
- Melfort papers, 16.
- Meuschen, Heer, gives a false account of Chamberlayne's evidence, 288, 289.
- Mews, bishop of Winchester, 170, 257, 361, 395.
- Middleton, earl of, reproaches certain members for voting against the king, 101, 287, 403, 479.
- Miller, sir John, his *MS. Minutes*, 477, *Append.*
- Modena, duchess of, time of her death, 280.
- Monmouth, duke of, 26, 29, 30 45; lands, 49, 52, 55; his interview with James II, 57; interview with his wife, 58, 59; anecdote in favour of him, 61, 99.
- Monmouth, duchess of, her corroboration of the queen's delivery, 289.
- Montague, Ralph, afterwards duke of, 82; desires a dukedom, and his plea for the request, 457.
- Montague, Sidney Wortley, 457.
- Montgomery, sir James, his pamphlet, "*Great Britain's Just Complaint,*" cited, 113, 114, 219, 283, 405.
- Mordaunt, earl of Peterborough, 351, 352.
- Nelthorp, 69.
- Newton, sir Isaac, 461.
- Norfolk, duke of, encourages his son to turn protestant, 313.
- North, lord keeper, a proposal of his relative to levying the customs and excise not acted upon, 10; a good character of him, 98, 99; his loyalty to James II, *ibid.*; nicknamed "*Slyboots,*" 99.
- North, Roger, his "*Life of the Lord Keeper North,*" found fault with and excused, 74, 99.
- Northampton, earl of, removed from the lord lieutenancy of Warwickshire (perhaps Northamptonshire), 220.
- Nottingham, Heneage Finch, earl of, makes Hedges secretary to keep out Vernon, 175, 206; a proposal to destroy him, 318, 412; his observation, 464.
- Oglethorpe, sir Theophilus, 326.

- Oldmixon's History of the Stuarts and of England, cited, 52, 65, 294, 362.
- Oliver, Dr., president of Magdalen college, Oxford, lord Clarendon's letter to him, 169.
- Onslow, sir Richard, afterward lord, 101.
- Orange, princess of, 222; accused of being too gay on her arrival at Whitehall, 466.
- Orange, William, prince of, angry with Charles the Second's envoy, 14; said to encourage the duke of Monmouth in order to ruin him, 29, 74; accused by Jeffries, 75, 99; looks forward to being king of England, 151; not a good husband, 154, 245, 296, 325; suspects that he is betrayed, 376, 386, 399, 414, 431, 460, 479, Append.
- Orkney, lady, 154.
- Ormond, James Butler, first duke of, observation by him, 80; forebodes the coming storm, 105.
- Ormond, James Butler, second duke of, communicates a design against the author, 241, 323, 380, 381.
- Ossory, countess of, her prediction to Dr. Hough, 176.
- Oxford, Robert Harley, earl of, 352, 389.
- Oxford, university of, 159; suffers for its steadiness to the church, 164, 173.
- Parker, bishop, 161, 177.
- Parliament of James II, composed of men of fortune and rank, 18; division on the dispensing power, 101; unanimous address of, *ibid.*, 213.
- Passages Suppressed, 475, Append.
- Passive obedience, 429.
- Paston, captain, 326.
- Patrick, bishop, 138.
- Pachel, Dr., starves himself, 167; threatened with deprivation of his headship, 168.
- Pearson, bishop, failure of his intellect, 158.
- Pembroke, earl of, 399, 442.
- Penn, William, king James the Second's opinion of, 156; letter formerly supposed to be written by him to Dr. Bayley of Magdalen college, 165; the letter disowned by him, *ibid.*; account of his interview with Dr. Hough, *ibid.*
- Pepys's Diary, cited, 168, 175.
- Peter, St., infallibility, not confined to him by Acts xv, 224.
- Petition of the archbishop and bishops to James II, published immediately after its delivery, 263.
- Petre, lord, 113.
- Petre, father, intrigues with lord Sunderland, 113; generally disliked, *ibid.*, 232; made a privy councillor, 251; but contrary to lord Arundel's opinion, 259, 298.
- Philip, king of Spain, excluded from power in England, 153; his marriage with queen Mary, 450.
- Pollexfen, his opinion on the prince of Orange's taking the government, 415.
- Pope, Alexander, cited, 351, 352.
- Popish controversy, 115, 116, 117.
- Powis, lady, 289.
- Powis, sir Thomas, character of, 107.
- Preston, lord, 478, Append.

- Pretender, prince of Wales's legitimacy, 280, 281, 282, 283—296, 338, 351, 361, 363, 365, 366, 367, 368, 390; sent into France, 391, 414, 445, 446, 447, 448; relation of his departure, 471—474, Append.
- Protestant religion, free inquiry allowed by it productive of civil liberty, 2.
- Prussia, king of, made so by king William's means, 277; a smart reply to, *ibid*.
- Pudsey, Dr., 171.
- Queensbury, duke of, 380.
- Ralph, his History of England, 29, 30, 36, 45, 50, 99, 104; an error in his History pointed out, 104, 249, 269; confutes an assertion of the author's, 274, 280, 361, 395, 397, 399, 403, 479.
- Rapin's demand of further evidence for the prince of Wales's legitimacy satisfied, 365.
- Reading, town of, skirmish there at the time of the revolution, 401.
- Regency for life, those against changing the government opposed to it, 440.
- Resistance, allowable, 429.
- Revenue, proposals to give it to James II. and William III. for a limited period, 19.
- Richard II, his deposition, 436.
- Rochester, Laurence Hyde, earl of, 21; attempt to pervert him fails, 137; declines assisting the princess Anne, 139, 388, 478, Append.
- Rome, church of, acknowledged to hold the fundamentals of the Christian religion, 92.
- Romans, modern, undeserving of the name according to Voltaire, 188.
- Ronquillo, the Spanish ambassador, 325, 330, 397.
- Rose, George, accuses Burnet of mistaking a fact, but is confuted by sergeant Heywood, 43, 47, 49.
- Russell, admiral, has an audience with the prince of Orange, 274, 322, 341.
- Russell, lord, 62.
- Salisbury, earl of, 478, Append.
- Salmon's "Examination of Burnet," 47, 70.
- Sancroft, archbishop, thanks king James for his speech, 7; the author's account of him confuted, 121; desires to be excused from attendance on the ecclesiastical commission, *ibid.*, 167; vindicated, 253; forbidden the court, 257, 258, 264, 265; assures the king that he had not invited the prince of Orange, 359; assertions concerning him refuted, 399, 414; his answer to the clergy on the prince of Orange's arrival in London, 431; offered to be elected chancellor of Cambridge, 431, 432, 479, Append.
- Savoy, duke of, observation on prince George of Denmark, 54.
- Sawyer, sir Robert, 266, 478, Append.
- Schomberg, duke of, 389.
- Scott, Dr., 72.
- Scott, sir Walter, his admirable tales, 421.
- Seymour, sir Edward, speaks concerning the elections, 45, 384.

- Shakespear, much read by archbishop Sharp, 118; speaker Onslow's opinion of his works, 118.
- Sharp, archbishop of York, visits Jeffries in the Tower, 73; advises young divines to read Shakespear and the Scriptures, 118, 119, 120, 398.
- Ship-money, case of, 459.
- Shrewsbury, Charles Talbot, earl and duke of, 313; an account of his, 318, 409.
- Sidley, Catharine, countess of Dorchester, eccentric, 134.
- Sidney, Henry, his character, 315.
- Skinner's Ecclesiastical History of Scotland, quoted, 130.
- Smith, Dr. Thomas, 171, 172, 177; his narrative, 179, 182; twice deprived of his fellowship, 262, 361.
- Smythe, sir Robert, marries Waller's Sacharissa, 300.
- Smythe, sir Sydney Stafford, 300.
- Solms, count, 410.
- Somers, lord, 72.
- Somerset, duke of, refuses to introduce the pope's nuncio, 214.
- Spanish ambassador's house burnt down, 397.
- Speke, Hugh, 380, 386.
- Sprat, bishop, 74, 162; trembles at reading the declaration for toleration, 260, 359.
- Stewart, sir James, 208; his conduct and character, 243.
- Stoupe, 91.
- Stuart family, not suited to govern England, 20.
- Sunderland, Robert Spencer, earl of, pensioned by France, 21, 203; affronts lord keeper North, 98, 113, 132; his plan to remove lord Rochester, 137, 171, 172, 177, 178, 180, 203; made lord lieutenant of Warwickshire (perhaps Northamptonshire) instead of the earl of Northampton, 220; of the secret council to James II, 251, 259; his treacherous conduct, 297, 298, 299; turns papist, and his reason why, 300; advised pardoning the bishops, 301; makes a good minister to king William, *ibid.*, 302, 311, 325.
- Sunderland, countess of, 298, 300; her deposition on the birth of the prince of Wales, 363.
- Taafe, count (the earl of Carlingford), 199.
- Temple, sir Richard, moved for the impeachment of the duke of Monmouth, 50.
- Temple, sir William, 424.
- Temple, son of sir William, destroys himself, 428.
- Tenison, archbishop, made collections for a life of Fell, 160, 295.
- Test act, 245.
- Thistle, order of, revived, 418.
- Torrington, Arthur, earl of, 109.
- Trelawney, bishop, 182, 258; votes against a regency, 457.
- Trelawney, general, 375.
- Tyrconnell, Richard Talbot, duke of, his scheme to separate Ireland from England, 132, 133, 425.
- Vane, Christopher, made a privy councillor, 246.
- Vane, sir Henry, 246.

- Vernon, disliked by lord Nottingham, 175.
- Villiers, Mrs., occasions some unhappiness between the prince and princess of Orange, 154; see lady Orkney.
- Universities, English, said to be degenerating, 159.
- Voltaire, 188.
- Wake, archbishop, reprints Bigot's edition of St. Chrysostom's Epistle to Cæsarius, 117, 118; a MS. life of the archbishop by himself, 431.
- Walcot, 161.
- Ward, Seth, bishop of Salisbury, 257.
- Walker, Dr., governor of Londonderry, no mention made of him by Burnet, 422.
- Walpole, sir Robert, prevents the publication of the duchess of Marlborough's Memoirs, 320.
- Warming-pan story refuted, 286, 287.
- Wellesley, Dr., 472, Append.
- Welwood, Dr., corroborates the acclamations with which king James II. was crowned, 6.
- Wentworth, Isabella, lady, corroborates the truth of the queen's delivery, 293, 365, 446, 447.
- Weymouth, lord, 398; his character by lord Dartmouth, 399; sent by the lords to the prince of Orange, *ibid.*; the kind host of bishop Ken, *ibid.*, 403, [Where correct, *at this time of the notice of the king's*] 478, Append.
- Wharton, Henry, 117, 183. [Where correct *p.* 134 for *p.* 139; *enim* for *sibi*; *et* for *ac*; and add *illos* after *armis*.]
- Wharton, lord, 376, 478, Append.
- Wharton, sir Michael, 451.
- Wharton, Mr. Thomas, afterward marquis and duke of, joins the prince of Orange, 376.
- White, marquis of Albeville, betrays king James II, 197.
- White, bishop, 359.
- William III, king of England, Burnet's further character of him, never before printed, 147; recommended the abrogation of the corporation test, 245, 348; his answer to Burnet, 372; speaker Onslow's justly high opinion of his abilities, 452.
- Winchelsea, earl of, gives good advice to king James II, 395.
- Windebank, doctor, certificated account of his conversation with Dr. Waldgrave, 282.
- Wood, Anthony, his account of bishop Fell, 159, 163, 465.
- Wright, Michael, publishes an account of lord Castlemain's embassy, 188.
- Wright, chief justice, 177.
- Wynn, sir W. W., in opposition to government, 266.
- Zuylestein, 410.

Corrections.

- Page 73. col. 2. lin. 13. "This was formerly written." Correct,
"This remark was formerly made."
- P. 163. col. 2. l. 6. "notwithstanding," "nevertheless."
- P. 183. col. 2. l. 4. It now appears, that bishop Lloyd corresponded with the prince.
- P. 280. col. 2. l. 9. "account," "accounts."
- P. 298. col. 2. l. 10. "not to oppose." Perhaps the author of this correctly cited passage wrote, "not to *propose*."
- P. 320. l. 9. After "favour", the words "though she used none of the common arts of a court to maintain it: for she did not beset the princess nor flatter her." were omitted by mistake.
- P. 375. col. 1. last line. "the king's first departure." If the king mentioned his being chased away from his own house by the prince of Orange, it must have been on his second departure.
- P. 389. l. 18. "within thirty miles of London." Perhaps "twenty miles" is more correct.
- P. 399. col. 1. l. 7. The Declaration of the peers, in which the prince of Orange was invited to take on himself the government for a limited time, and which was signed by the archbishop, justifies bishop Burnet; whom we erroneously stated at p. 414 to have misrepresented him.
- P. 401. l. 3. "an equality," "an inequality."
- P. 431. col. 2. l. 25. "he," "Lloyd."
- P. 508. col. 2. l. 4. "(perhaps Northamptonshire)" to be omitted.

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